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THE HALVETI-JERRAHI
A SUFI ORDER IN MODERN TURKEY

by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Durham

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University of Durham



- 5 JAN 1993

ABSTRACT

This is a study of the teachings and practices of the Halveti-Cerrahi sufi order and the place of the order within Islam and in the secular Republic of Turkey.

A brief introductory chapter outlines the legal and constitutional position of sufi orders within the Republic of Turkey and records the research methods adopted. Attention is then turned to the way sufism developed, the place that it now occupies within the religion of Islam and how some leading commentators account for its existence.

The study then notes the history of the Halveti Order, looking at the credentials of its fourteenth century founder and following the progress of this major order and some of its many branches before focusing directly upon the Jerrahi branch from its eighteenth century origins to the present day. In view of their predominant role, the emphasis throughout this part is on the sheikhs who directed the affairs of the order.

The underlying ideas of the Halveti-Jerrahis are discussed in a chapter entitled "The Sufi Path" - the path whose proclaimed destination is union with God. This chapter indicates where Halveti-Jerrahi path takes devotees through territory not entered by ordinary believers.

Sufis require a guide along this path, and the next chapter examines in detail the role of the spiritual guide and includes reference to the two Halveti-Jerrahi sheikhs who have been in charge of the order during the course of research for this thesis.

Rituals practised by members of the order go beyond the rituals common to all Muslims. In the chapter devoted to this topic the rituals are listed and details are given of the teachings of the order with regard to these obligations.

The order's spiritual guides give detailed instructions to devotees not only on how they should perform their rituals but also on how they should conduct their lives. The order's teaching on social and political matters forms the subject of a separate chapter.

The study concludes with a discussion on the sociological categorisation of sufi orders and then points to aspects worthy of further study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

PREFACE

CHAPTER	PAGE
1. INTRODUCTION	8
2. ISLAM AND SUFISM	13
3. HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE HALVETI ORDER	27
4. HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE JERRAHIS	94
5. THE SUFI PATH	126
6. THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE	190
7. RITUAL	227
8. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TEACHING	298
9. SUFI ORDERS AND SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES	327
10. AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY	342
APPENDIX	345
GLOSSARY	348
NOTES	351
BIBLIOGRAPHY	396

ILLUSTRATIONS

facing page

1. Funeral of Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak	12
2. A dervish respectfully kissing Sheikh Muzaffer's palm.	213
3. Ecstatic Halveti-Jerrahi dervishes during <i>dhikr</i>	256

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NOTES ON THE TRANSCRIPTION
AND
PRONUNCIATION OF TURKISH WORDS

Except for those with an established English form, Turkish words are given in the text in modern Turkish spelling.

The Turkish alphabet is phonetic and presents few problems, but readers unfamiliar with it should note particularly the pronunciation of the following letters:

- c - is pronounced like the English j in jam;
- ç - is pronounced like the English ch in church;
- g - is always pronounced hard like the English g in gun;
- ğ - after e, i, ö and ü is pronounced like the English y in yes, after a, ı, o or u it is silent and serves only to lengthen the preceding vowel;
- i - is pronounced like the English i in fit;
- ı - is pronounced rather like the English i in fir
- ö - is pronounced as it is in German
- ş - is pronounced like the English sh in ship

ü - is pronounced with the lips forward and rounded as in the French tu.

A circumflex over a vowel denotes a slight "y" sound between it and a preceding g, k, or l. Otherwise the circumflex serves to lengthen the vowel.

PREFACE

Prior to embarking on this research I prepared an M.A. thesis for submission to the University of Durham. There I provided a survey of the development and nature of secularism in Turkey. That study, among other things, highlighted the position of the sufi orders in Turkey which survived, and often prospered in spite of being proscribed by law. The present thesis, in part, grew out of my research into secularism and presents a picture of a sufi order which continues to function in modern Turkey.

I should like to acknowledge my debt to the Jerrahis in Istanbul who welcomed me into their meetings and answered my questions with, on the whole, remarkable openness. A study of this kind would have been impossible to complete without the cooperation of the Jerrahis, it is to their credit that they never sought to frustrate my efforts though they could have done with ease.

I should also like to thank my

supervisor, John D. Norton, of the Centre for Turkish Studies. His encouragement, care and guidance have been invaluable. The views expressed in this thesis, however, are my own.

I wish to record my gratitude to the British Academy for the State Studentship that financed my first two years of full-time Ph.D. research (following a previous year of funding for my M.A.) and to the Turkish Government for the award of a summer language course scholarship that helped me consolidate the Turkish I had learned in Durham - a prerequisite for this research.

Finally, I should thank my wife, Helen, for her patience and constant encouragement.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Halveti-Jerrahi is a sufi order whose main centre is in Istanbul. The order which was founded during the Ottoman Empire remains active to this day, with adherents in Europe and to a far greater extent in the United States. The present study concentrates on the order within Turkey, examining its history, beliefs, teachings and practices.

In the secular Turkish Republic of today, religion remains a sensitive and a contentious issue, both politically and socially. For most of the period of my research Sufi activity was proscribed by Turkish law. Although the relevant articles of the Penal Code were rescinded in April 1991, the Constitution still declares secularism to be an irrevocable characteristic of the Republic (see Articles 2 and 4) and prohibits any attempt to make religion the basis of the government system (Article 14). All

expressions of religious sentiment are closely monitored by the state, particular note being taken of the speech and action of religious groups which deviate to whatever extent from Sunni Orthodoxy, the dominant Islamic Orthodoxy in Turkey. Sufi Orders, despite often being tolerated by orthodox Sunni Islam, cannot be described as part of orthodox Islam in any strict understanding of that phrase. In Turkey, while Islam was merely dis-established, the Sufi Orders were actually proscribed by law. Sufi Orders have often been depicted by the champions of secularism as reactionary movements which will seek to overthrow the secular state and to establish a truly Islamic society and polity in Turkey. The result of this has been a lasting suspicion and mistrust of the Sufi Orders among Turkish secularists and intellectuals. Some Sufi movements in modern Turkey could be seen as looking for the overthrow of the secular state and the establishing of an Islamic one, but this is not true, as I shall show, of the Jerrahis. The present study thus has a relevance to the social and political development of Turkey and to the preconceptions, often unfounded, of the intellectual elite within Turkey regarding Islam.

and the Sufi Orders.

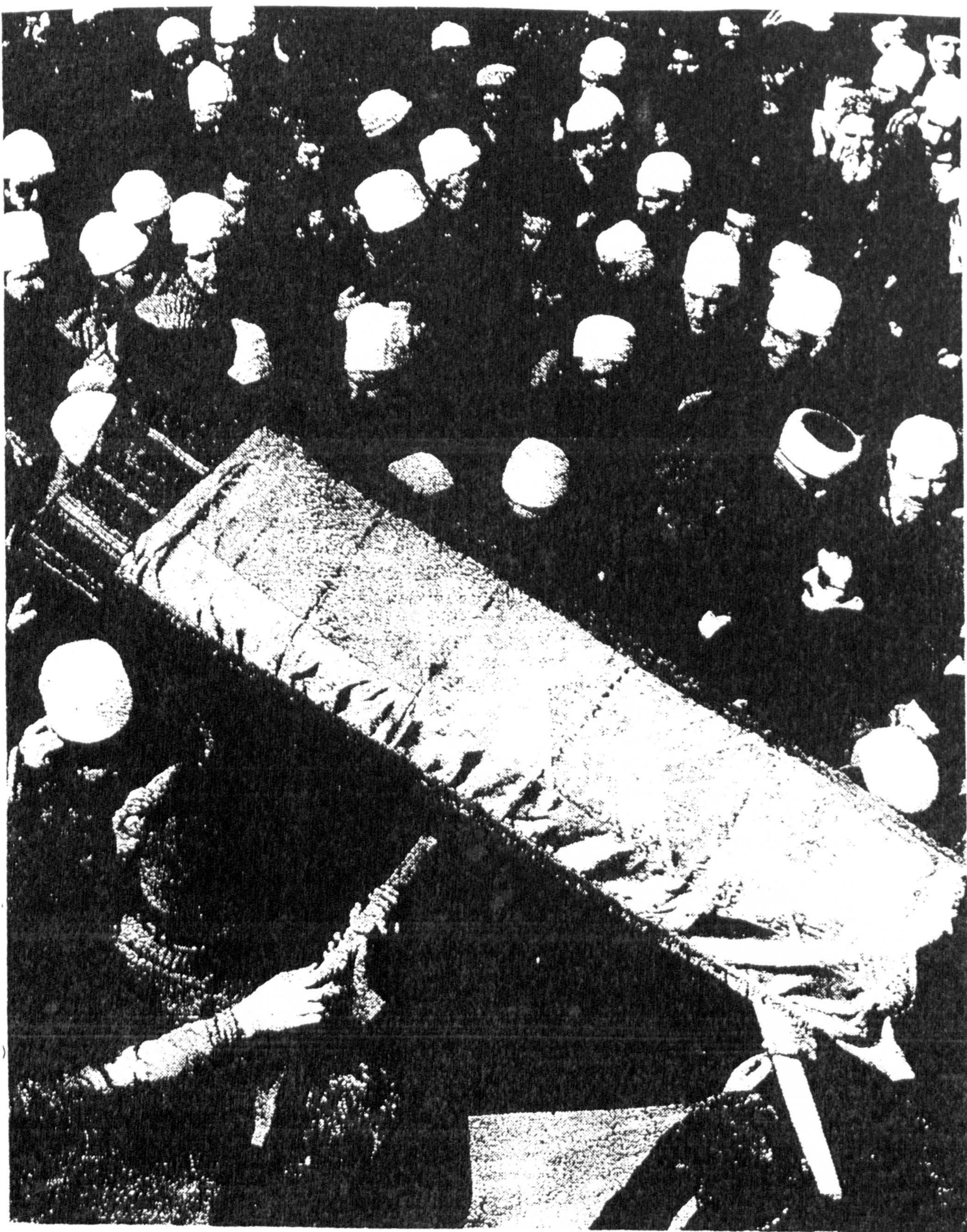
The word "modern" as it appears in the title of this study perhaps needs some explanation. I do not intend this word to denote any particular period in history with a specific date at one end and today at the other. This would be inappropriate as the primary focus of this study is not historical. Rather I have in mind to present a picture of the Jerrahis as they may be encountered by visitors to Turkey both today and in the past decade or so.

These visitors include adherents of the order from Europe, Australia and especially the U.S.A who eagerly embrace the opportunity to come to the "fountainhead". This international - and more specifically 'Western' - dimension of the order is important to the Jerrahis; it enhances their prestige within Turkey (a country inordinately impressed by expressions of Western approval) and in the past may have made the authorities particularly wary of invoking the law and interfering in their activities. The Jerrahi groups outside Turkey are nourished by visits from as well as to the leadership in Istanbul. As I

have not had an opportunity to visit these groups and discover the nature of their membership, this study is concentrated on the order in Turkey.

The method adopted for this study was first to review the existing literature and then, with the benefit of the background thus obtained, to meet members and leaders of the order, discuss with them its teachings and practices and observe these practices myself as a participant in their meetings.

The intention throughout this study is to focus mainly on the religious beliefs and practices of the Jerrahi. This is not meant in any way to deny that there is also a social and economic aspect, for some, to membership of a sufi order. For some Jerrahis, indeed, the social and economic aspects of membership may be dominant. I am convinced, however, that for most Jerrahis the religious motive for membership is primary. While concentrating on the religious aspect of the order's teachings and activities, I shall use the Jerrahi's own sources, both published and unpublished, in an attempt so far as is possible within the bounds of an academic study, to allow



Funeral of Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak

In 1984 the staunchly secular Turkish daily *Cumhuriyet* expressed concern because large crowds of dervishes and sympathisers at the funeral of Halveti-Jerrahi Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak flouted the legal prohibition against wearing religious garb in public.

(Photo from *Cumhuriyet*)

To face p. 12

the Jerrahis to speak for themselves.

This study is somewhat unusual in that Sheikh Muzafer Ozak, who had been the sheikh of the order in Istanbul for almost twenty years died during the course of the research. Though I was not in Turkey at the time of his death, I was able to visit the order both under the leadership of Sheikh Muzafer and under that of his successor, Sefer Baba. The changes I observed in the order under the two men were of considerable interest and will be discussed within the main body of the study. This does represent, however, an aspect of this study which is not replicated in many studies of sufi orders.

CHAPTER TWO

ISLAM AND SUFISM

It would be a mistake in a work such as this to discuss Sufism and the sufi orders without making reference to the relationship between sufism and Islam itself. Is sufism a growth out of the main body of Islam or is it an entirely foreign body? If the latter, how did it come to establish itself within Islam as strongly as it seems to have done?

Adherents to the 'ball of string' theory of history once looked for the origins of sufism beyond Islam. This historical theory held that similar events or movements must be derived from each other or from a common cause. This view saw no possibility of two similar things coming about totally independently. For these reasons, as Sufism was the mystical element within Islam, it was thought that it must be derived from and heavily influenced by the mystical traditions in Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism and so on. This

theory no longer holds much influence as scholars have come to see that most religious traditions have their mystical and spiritual element and that mysticism and spirituality would seem to be elements intrinsic to the religious quest itself.

We may begin by seeking to establish what the word Sufi means. Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, who probably died at Bukhara in 385/995, (1) reports the opinion of some (unspecified) authorities that the Sufis were so called because they were "in the first rank (saff)" among Muslims due to their having focused their desires upon God. (2) Somewhat similar in implication to this derivation is that attributed to Bishr ibn al-Harith, who regards the word as referring to "one whose heart is sincere (safa)" towards God. (3) An explanation offered by many Sufis is that the word is to be derived from Sufiya, 'purified' or 'chosen as a friend' by God, which would give the Sufis the nature and status of an elect group. (4) These implications should alert us to the fact that the derivations offered above may well represent the truth of how the early Sufis saw themselves, rather better than they

represent an historically accurate philology.

There is a superficial resemblance between the term Sufi and the Greek words Sophos or Sophia meaning Wisdom. This is generally regarded as little more than coincidental and any suggestion that Sufi may be derived from these Greek words should, according to Gibb, be regarded as "quite fanciful".(5) In supporting this contention Stoddart points out that the Greek letter Sigma is regularly rendered into Arabic by the letter sin, and not by the letter Sad as in Sufi: though it is interesting to note, as Stoddart does, that much later Turks transliterated Hagia Sophia as Aya Sufiya replacing the Greek sigma with the Arabic sad.(6)

Al-Kalabadhi also reports that some held that the term Sufi was applied to individuals because they had certain qualities possessed by the people of the bench (suffah).(7) These people of the bench were a group, to our knowledge informal, living at the time of the Prophet Muhammed, who were "poor, exiles, having been driven out of their abodes and possessions".(8)

Al-Kalabadhi also offers the explanation that people were called Sufis because of their custom of wearing garments made from wool (Suf).(9) Rather than wearing soft, fine garments "to give delight to the soul" they dressed solely to "hide their nakedness" contenting themselves with clothes made of course wool.(10) This is the explanation most generally accepted by western scholars.(11) The wearing of such garments carried with it the implications both of personal penitence(12) and of the renunciation of worldly vanity and luxury.(13) By the fourth century, Gibb reports, the wearing of woollen garments had become the usual garb of Sufis in Iraq, and the term was commonly applied to all mystics.(14) Al-Hasan al-Basri,(15) keen to emphasise the early origins of Sufism, is reported as saying that he has known seventy of those who fought at the battle of Badr, 624 A.D.,(16) whose clothes were made only of wool.(17) This last remark reflects a desire to trace any element back as far in Islamic history as possible, preferably as far as the life time of Muhammed, in order thus to legitimate it. We shall meet with this tendency again later.(18)

From the above emphasis on woollen garments it will be clear that the early Sufis may probably more strictly be regarded as ascetics and quietists rather than mystics in the fullest sense of that word.(19) Such an attitude of world negation may be seen to have developed quite naturally from the emphasis in early Islamic preaching upon the imminence of the Day of Judgement and the torments of Hell.(20) The early Sufis would express their asceticism in other ways, not only in the wearing of woollen garments. They would eat only sufficient food to allay their hunger,(21) leading them to be known in Syria as "Starvers".(22) Whilst this way of life may have been admired by some, it was derided by others. Sari al-Saqati describes the Sufis as follows:

Their food is the food of the sick,
their sleep is the sleep of the drowned,
their speech is the speech of fools.(23)

When someone asked Abu Ali al-Rudhabari who was a Sufi, he replied that they were people who, having overcome their desires for the world, were journeying "in the pathway of the Chosen One [Muhammed]".(24) This Islamic character of the

Sufis was also referred to by Yusuf ibn al-Husayn:

There is in every community a chosen band, and they are the agents of God, concealed by Him from His creation: if there be any such in this [Islamic] community, they are the Sufis. (25)

Thus in modern scholarship, and in what follows, the term Sufi is restricted to those mystics who profess the faith of Islam. (26)

We shall see later that Sufis claim that their teachings have come down in an unbroken line from the Prophet Muhammed and his Companions. (27)

However, within Islam generally the life and work of Muhammed, though undoubtedly important, is less significant than the Qur'an, the very word of God.

Can any trace of what would come to be regarded as Sufism be found in the Qur'an?

Not surprisingly, the Sufis have argued that it can. An excellent over-view of Qur'anic passages thought to bear a Sufic interpretation has been provided by Khadige Karrar al-Tayyib, upon whose work the following is based. (28) Though the Sufis were generally much impressed by all passages in the Qur'an emphasising the splendour, majesty and omnipotence of God, including those passages drawing attention to the

wonders of nature as evidence of God's powers, a small number of specific references were seen as giving particular support to the Sufi case for Islamic authenticity. Particular mention may be made of the following:

To God belong the East and the West;
withersoever you turn, there is the Face
of God; God is All-Embracing,
All-Knowing. (29)

This verse, in addition to reinforcing the perception of God as the owner and foundation of all creation, bears two important implications. The first is that God may be glimpsed through His creation and that he may be thought of as being present in some sense in all things. It could also be regarded as conveying a sense of the immanence of God. This latter is equally stressed by another Qur'anic verse:

We indeed created man; and We know what
his soul whispers within him, and We are
nearer to him than the jugular vein. (30)

This implication of an in-dwelling God, close to the individual, makes possible the quest for a personal relationship with God, so necessary for the mystics, which would be inconceivable with a more traditionally Islamic picture of God as an omnipotent and omniscient being far removed from direct contact with the believer.

This nearness of relation between man and God is further emphasised in a Hadith Qudsi, the so-called Holy Traditions, where we read:

I am his hearing with which he hears, and his sight with which he sees, and his hand with which he smites, and his foot with which he walks. (31)

Though evidence for a Qur'anic and even hadith authority for mysticism within Islam may be regarded as suspiciously weak in places, it was nevertheless sufficient to save the Sufis from condemnation as innovators.

The immediacy of mysticism creates quite a contrast with the transcendent emphasis of Islam. A God who could be loved, and who would love in return, could be contrasted with a God who could only be feared and obeyed. In Islam God was mediated to the believer by His Word in the Qur'an, in Sufism God was mediated to his devotee by means of direct experience and the agency of individual believers with special powers of intercession. How, we may ask, did this contrast come into being? How could sufism develop out of so strict a monotheism as early Islam? Once such a development had taken place, how could the resulting tensions be held in check without

splitting the Islamic community apart?

Samuel Anderson, writing in 1922, ascribes the popularity and success of Sufism and the Sufi Orders as being due to dissatisfaction among believers with the normal forms of Islamic worship, such as the daily prayers.(32) This cannot be a full answer to the problem. In many Sufi Orders there is emphasis on the correct performance of these ritual acts which would surely not be present if dissatisfaction with them were the main impetus behind Sufism. Still more, Anderson's argument fails to take account of the growth of institutions and beliefs in Sufism, such as the acceptance of saints. It would surely have been possible to develop other forms of worship than those in mainstream Islam without needing to introduce notions of saintship so foreign to Islam.

Gellner offers a more sophisticated explanation which can carry a great deal more weight than will be supported by Anderson's conjecture. This "pendulum swing" theory of the origins and growth of Sufism vis-a-vis Islam is based on the work of the philosopher David

Hume.(33) Hume postulated a tendency for societies to oscillate permanently in their religious views, beginning with polytheistic views, which develop into monotheistic ones, and return again to polytheism.(34)

Hume's philosophical work was developed by Gellner into a predominantly sociological picture of these two extremes. These two "syndromes of characteristics" as Gellner calls them may be outlined as follows. Syndrome P consists of:

- Strict Monotheism;
- Puritanism;
- Stress on scriptural revelation and hence literacy;
- Egalitarianism between believers;
- Absence of special mediation;
- Minimization of ritual or mystical extravagance;[sic]
- Stress on the observance of rules rather than on emotional states.(35)

This is in contrast to a syndrome of characteristics which Gellner labels C:

- Tendency towards hierarchy both in this and the spiritual world;
- A multiplicity of spirits, priests and ritual specialists;
- Incarnation of religion in symbols or images rather than in the written word;
- Tendency towards profusion of ritual practices and forms rather than moderation and sobriety;
- Loyalty towards a personality rather than respect for rules.(36)

Gellner further suggests that syndrome P is

favoured by an urban setting, with syndrome C flourishing more in a rural environment.(37) These two syndromes represent types and may occur within the same religious tradition at different times and in different places. Taken as a whole Gellner suggests, Christianity would most often conform to syndrome C with Islam most often conforming to syndrome P.(38)

Within Islam positions approximating to both these syndromes may be found. The educated, urban Arab saw Allah as a distant omnipotent God mediated through the Qur'an and the Law. In the more popular tradition, the believer finds himself in need of a religious adept who attempts to mediate the reality of God by means of more direct experience.(39)

These syndromes must not, of course, be thought of as a simple dichotomy. They are, rather, the two ends of a spectrum. Indeed there were within Sufism two extremes, commonly referred to as 'sober' and 'drunken', ranging from the nearly orthodox to the more ecstatic and extreme. Junaid of Baghdad was a prominent early member of the 'sober' tendency within Sufism, seeking as he

did to contain the ecstasy of the mystics within the framework of orthodox law.(40)

Two representatives only from the 'drunken' school of sufism will be needed to give a flavour of the extent of their divergence from their 'sober' brethren. Abu Yazid al-Bistami, for example, is reported to have claimed to be "part of God" and thus, logically speaking, above Islamic law.(41) More famous still among drunken sufis is al-Husain ibn Mansur al-Halladj. Al-Halladj was put to death for, in the eyes of the orthodox ulema, equating himself with God when he said: "I am the creative Truth [ana al Haqq]".(42) Though there is some suggestion that the crime for which he was executed was not saying this, as such, but saying it publicly for consumption by all the people,(43) this must be considered little better than a legal nicety, especially for al-Halladj. Al-Halladj had his hands and feet cut off, was hung on a gibbet for two days prior to being decapitated, his body was then sprinkled with oil and set on fire before his ashes were thrown into the river Tigris from the top of a minaret.(44)

Given the fact that beliefs in saints and other such beliefs and practices of sufism which flew in the face of Qur'an, hadith and Orthodox Theology did develop within Islam, an explanation must be found for the ability of Islam to prevent these new ideas from splitting Islam apart. (45)

The reconciliation between these two traditions, orthodox Islam on the one hand and Sufism on the other, was due largely to the life and work of one man. Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali, who died in 1111 A.D., (46) succeeded in forming a bond between the two traditions which has proved permanent. (47) Born in Tus in Khurasan, in what is now Iran, in 1058 A.D. Ghazzali was appointed at 33 years of age to the position of Professor in the newly established academy for Religious Studies in Baghdad. (48) Despite extensive studies of theology and philosophy including the natural sciences, (49) Ghazzali remained of "a restless, self-questioning temperament". (50) Yet his considerable intellectual achievements meant that the orthodoxy of al-Ghazzali was beyond reproach. This would be important when he later turned his attention to Sufism.

After a serious moral and psychological crisis, at the age of 37 Ghazzali gave away his wealth and began to look seriously at the sufi path.(51) For the next ten years he lived the life of a sufi seeking mystic truth with the aid of solitude and ascetic practices, though he experienced ecstatic states but rarely.(52) Al-Ghazzali sought:

the revitalisation of the Shari'a ...by re-injecting into it the altruistic love and pietism of the Sufis. In this he succeeded...largely because his credentials as...a formal theologian were impeccable.(53)

So it came about that Sufism grew up within Islam, eventually coming to be accepted as a part of the Islamic tradition. True, from time to time certain sufis, certain beliefs, and certain practices would come under suspicion from the orthodox authorities. But in general, from the time of al-Ghazzali, Sufism had become an accepted part of the world of Islam.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE HALVETI ORDER

All religious movements have a beginning, the trick is to know where that beginning is. How far back into the tangle of history should the roots of a movement be traced?

LINEAGE OF THE HALVETI-JERRAHI TARIKAT

This uncertainty is present in a study of the Jerrahi tarikat. The apparent origin of this order is to be found in the life of its founding saint, Nureddin Mehmed Jerrahi. But this order is regarded, not least by the members themselves, as a branch of the larger Halveti [Arabic: Khalwatiyya] tarikat. For this reason its development may be traced back to the founder of the Halveti order: Ebuabdullah Siracuddin Omer bin Ekmeluddin Geylani el Ahci el Halveti (d. 750 A.H.).(1)

In the Islamic world all such tarikats are provided with a line of antedecants stretching back to the time of the Prophet Muhammed and his companions. This chain of individuals linking the founder of an order with the Prophet is known as a Silsila.(2) In theory it supplies a complete list of names filling the time which has elapsed from the death of the Prophet down to the lifetime of the founding saint, though often all or part of this chain may be a "pious fabrication".(3) Nevertheless, the Silsila of a tarikat is of considerable importance and cannot be neglected entirely. For convenience the origins of the Jerrahi order may be considered in two parts with the birth of Halveti forming the mid-point between the two.

The Halveti Silsila is as follows:

- 1) Muhammed Mustafa (d. 12/632), [The Prophet]
- 2) Ebul Hasanenyn Aliyyul Murtaza Radiyallahu [Imam Ali] (d. 40/660),
- 3) Seyyid'uttabiin Ebu's Said Hasan Bin Yesar El Basri (d. 116/729),
- 4) Es Seyh'ul Elmai Habib-i Acemi (d. 156/774),
- 5) Es Seyh'ul Kebir Ebu Suleyman Davud bin Nasir'ut Tai (d. 165/763 ?),
- 6) Es Seyh Ebul Mahfuz Ma'ruf Miyyul Kerhi (d. 200/816),
- 7) Es Seyh Ebul Hasan Seriy'us Sakati (d. 253/858),
- 8) Seyyid'ut Taife Ebulkasim Juneyd bin Muhammed'ul Bagdadi (d. 297/910) [better

known as Juneyd of Baghdad],
 9) Es Seyh Ebu Ali, Ahmed Memsad'ut
 Dinuri (d. 299/912),
 10) Ebu Abdullah Muhammed Dinuri (d.
 370/980-981),
 11) Muhammed Amaviyye bin Abdullah'ul
 Bekri (d. 380/990-991),
 12) Es Seyh Ebuhafe Omer Vecihuddin el
 Kazi Bekri (d. 530/1136),
 13) Es Seyh Ebunecib Ziyauddin
 Abdulkahir'ul Bekriyy'us Suhreverdi (d.
 563/1168),
 14) Es Seyh Eburesid Kutbuddin'ul
 Ebheri (d. 622/1235),
 15) Es Seyh Ruknuddin Muhammed Nuhas'ul
 Buhari,
 16) Es Seyh Sihabuddin Muhammed'ut
 Tebrizi,
 17) Es Seyh es Seyyid Cemaluddini Sirazi
 (d. 652/1255),
 18) Es Seyh Ibrahim Zahid Geylani (d.
 681/1287),
 19) Es Seyh Saduddin-i Fergani,
 20) Es Seyh Kerimuddin Ebi Muhammed
 Ibnunur el Halveti (d. 670/1271-2),
 21) Pir Ebuabduallah Siracuddin Omer bin
 Es Seyh Ekmeluddin'ul Geylani el Ahci el
 Halveti (d. 750/1350).(4)

An alternative version of this Silsila omits 11)
 Muhammed Amaviyye bin Abdullah'ul Bekri.(5)

In the Silsila given above there is a
 remarkably large difference in the dates given for
 the deaths of numbers eleven and twelve. The gap
 is so large as to make it almost certain that
 number twelve in the list would not have been
 alive to receive instruction from number eleven
 before the latter's death. Naturally the
 alternative version of the Silsila which omits
 number eleven makes this gap greater still. Such

a gap in the Silsila may suggest that the names of some individuals have been omitted or lost from the list.

Some terms which appear in the Silsila ought to be explained at this point. These are the two honorific titles of Seyh (or Sheikh) and Pir.

The title of Pir(6) is correctly employed to denote the founder of a Sufi order: as one of my contacts among the Jerrahi put it, "a Pir is a Sheikh who founds a tarikat". This reflects the modern usage but in old Persian, whence the term comes, it carried a similar range of meaning as the word Sheikh had in Arabic.(7)

Earliest usages of the word Sheikh were based in the tribal and kinship system of ancient Arabia.(8) Originally it referred to "aged relatives...the patriarch of the tribe or family" and simply meant "one who bears the marks of old age".(9) Today the title is applied to men of religion without reference to age and is particularly used to distinguish the current or past leaders of a Sufi order. Among the Jerrahis

the term is not necessarily restricted to the acknowledged head of the order. For example the current head is Sheikh Sefer, while the senior representative of the order in the U.S.A. is Sheikh Tosun Bayrak.

One other term should be mentioned here.

Although the term is not used in the Silsila many of the individuals in the list would today be referred to by the Turkish term Veli (Arabic: Wali).(10) The word is derived from the Arabic root Wala, to be near, and Waliya, to rule, to protect someone. In common usage Wali means protector, benefactor, friend and companion and is also applied to close relatives.

In the Qur'an the term occurs in three places. In the first of these it bears the meaning of "a near relation":

And keep not thy hand chained to thy neck, nor outspread it widespread altogether, or thou wilt sit reproached and denuded (17:33)

referring to the near relation whose murder demands vengeance. Secondly it occurs with the meaning of a friend of God:

Surely God's friends - no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow

(10:62).

Finally, when applied to God, it carries the meaning of friend of man:

God is the protector of the believers;
He brings them forth from the shadows
into the light. (2:257).

When the word is used in a religious context it corresponds very well with the English word Saint.(11) In Christianity saints are not to be venerated in themselves, but rather as possible "channels of grace" between the worshipper and the divinity.(12) The general view of saints in the Christian world is that:

the practice of heroic virtues and the accomplishment of miracles before or after death are required criteria in canonization procedures...although popular opinion may place more emphasis on miracles.(13)

In Islam also the saint is believed to have the power to work miracles, though in popular belief the miraculous powers of saints have tended to become specialised with individual saints coming to be regarded as being particularly successful at tackling specific problems.(14) Hudjwiri credits the saints with the government of the universe, though such powers as they possess are regarded as a gift from God rather than being

due to the personal efforts of the saint. It is by the blessing of the saints that the rain falls and by their purity that the flowers grow. Their spiritual influence can secure victory in battle.

Not only does the saint possess these powers but he is also credited with having considerable influence with God and is thus often approached as an intercessor or intermediary between Allah and the worshipper.

There are always saints on earth, though they themselves may be unaware of their sanctity.

Indeed some saints are not even visible to the mortal eye. One common theory holds that there are always four thousand saints in the world. Some saints are aware of their special status and may, on occasion, act together. These may be arranged into a hierarchy as follows:

- 1 Kutb or Pole.
- 3 Nukaba
- 4 awtad
- 7 abrar
- 40 abdal
- 300 akhyar.

Some famous Sufis, such as Juneyd of Baghdad, have been called the Kutb of their particular age.

This hierarchy exists in different forms

in different parts of the Islamic world. D'Ohsen gives an example of a ranking for Turkey in which there are always 356 saints living on the earth at any one time.(15) These are divided into seven degrees as follows:

1 Ghawth a'zam - "the great refuge",
1 Kutb, who serves as the Vizier of
the above,
4 awtad - Pillars,
3 Ucler,
7 Yediler
40 Kirkclar
300 Ucyuzler

On the death of the Ghawth a'zam the Kutb moves up to take his place. He in turn is replaced by the most pure representative of the next category, and so on.

Ibn al-Arabi has a special theory of saintship which holds that all the prophets are also saints, but that the saintly aspect of these individuals is higher than the prophetic aspect.(16) Muhammed, in his capacity as Seal of the Prophets, is superior to all other prophets, but there is also a Seal of the Saints who is to Saintship what Muhammed was to prophecy. By his own estimation Ibn al-Arabi is this Seal of the Saints. Needless to say this novel idea is thoroughly unorthodox.

Some saints are great mystics or the founders of Sufi orders.(17) These saints are, quite naturally, greatly venerated by the members of their orders. However, the worship of saints is not approved in the Qur'an and indeed runs contrary to Islam. Devotees of individual saints must draw a line between respectful veneration and the actual worship of a saint.

The qualities needed by a Muslim Saint have been summarised by Nicholson as follows:

Neither deep learning in divinity, nor devotion to good works, nor asceticism, nor moral purity makes the Muhammedan a saint; he may have all or none of these things, but the only indispensable qualification is that ecstasy and rapture which is the outward sign of 'passing away' from the phenomenal self.(18)

In Islam there is no formal procedure for proclaiming an individual a saint as there is a process of canonization in Christianity.(19) Thus the recognition of a Muslim saint is more a matter of the saint attracting popular support rather than fulfilling certain conditions such as those laid down in Canon Law for Christian Saints. The designation of some individuals as saints is less a matter of chance however. For example biographers of Garib Nawaz (Chishti) say that his

sainthood can be open to no doubt because on his death miraculous writing in Arabic appeared on his forehead. It read: "The lover of Allah died in the love of Allah".(20) Naturally this dispelled any lingering doubt concerning his status.

In an unpublished document prepared by the Sheikh of the Jerrahi order in America a much abbreviated version of the Silsila listed earlier is given.(21) The individuals thus singled out were: Imam Ali, Hasan Basri, Juneyd of Baghdad and Suhrawardi. As these men are singled out for special attention by the Jerrahis some further information on each in turn might be appropriate.

Ali Ibn Abi Talib, the cousin and son in law of the prophet Muhammed, was and remains one of the most important figures in Islam.(22) Whether it was he or Abu Bakr who first followed Khadidja's lead(23) in believing in the prophetic mission of Muhammed was a much disputed point in early Islam.(24) At the outset of Muhammed's mission Ali would have been only ten or eleven and was living with Muhammed and Khadidja because Ali's father, Abu Talib, had fallen into

poverty. (25)

During the Medinan period Ali married the daughter of Muhammed, and with his wife, Fatima, had two children. (26) These children, Hasan and Huseyn, (27) became early victims of disputes between Sunnis and Shi'is and are much venerated in the Shi'i tradition. During Fatima's lifetime Ali took no other wife, as indeed Muhammed maintained a strictly monogamous relationship while Khadidja remained alive.

On the death of Muhammed, Ali appears to have made no attempt to keep control of the Muslim community within the Hashimite clan, although it does seem to have been something like six months before he recognised the leadership of Abu Bakr. This may have been because on the death of Muhammed (11/633) Ali would most probably have only been a little over thirty so Vaglieri suggests that he probably did not wish to succeed Muhammed. (28) Shi'ites, however, maintain that Muhammed always intended Ali to succeed him as leader of the community.

During the lives of Umar, the second

Caliph, (29) and Uthman, the third Caliph, (30) Ali held neither military nor political office with the exception of the lieutenancy of Medina, which office he held briefly during Umar's journey to Palestine and Syria. He did, however, often dispute with Uthman on political and religious questions frequently accusing him of deviating from the Qur'an and the traditional usages and customs of the Prophet and his early companions.

After the assassination of Uthman the Umayyads fled Medina and their opponents invited Ali to succeed to the Caliphate. The traditions concerning the willingness, or lack of it, of Ali to accept the title of Caliph are generally unclear. It is impossible to say whether Ali went willingly or reluctantly to the Caliphate. Whichever may be the case, the most widely accepted date for the election of Ali to the Caliphal office is 18 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 35/17 June 656.

The political and military problems which beset Ali's Caliphate need not concern us here. It need simply be recorded that Ali was killed outside the mosque at Kufa, after being

struck with a poisoned sword. At the time Ali would have been sixty two or three years old. His assassin was 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muldjam al-Muradi who was a Kharidjite.(31)

With regard to his appearance and personality Ali is described as being bald, short legged, broad shouldered, affected by ophthalmia, and stout with a hairy body and a long white beard covering his chest. His manner was brusque and often apt to give offence, and he tended to be somewhat unsociable. With regard to religion there are many references to Ali's being a rigorous observer of religious rites who was rather austere and detached from worldly goods. Indeed he is reported as saying: "The world is carrion; whoever wants a part of it must be satisfied to live with dogs", and, "Blessed are those who have renounced this world and only aspire to the life to come." (32) Although Ali's greatness and piety were and are much emphasised in Shi'i Islam there is no reason to believe that all the references to the devoutness of Ali have been either exaggerated or invented.

Though Hasan and Huseyn were Ali's most

important offspring, it may be noted here that in all Ali had fourteen sons and nineteen daughters by nine wives and several concubines.

In Shi'i tradition Ali is often called the Wali Allah, "the friend of God". We have already seen how the term wali later came to carry the meaning of Saint. Indeed Ali is, as Huart expresses it in the Encyclopaedia Of Islam:

pre-eminently the saint of Islam, by which quality he is clearly distinguished from Muhammed who is only [sic] the nabi, 'the Prophet of God'. (33)

Among the Jerrahi Ali also has the title of Commanded of the Faithful, the Door of Knowledge, and the Lion of God. (34)

Huart tells us that Ali is distinctive in being one of only ten individuals to whom Muhammed explicitly promised that they would go to Paradise. (35) The Jerrahi inform us that testimony to Ali was once given by the Devil himself. (36) During the life of the Prophet Muhammed he is said to have received a visit from the Devil and, in front of some of the Companions, they proceeded to hold a conversation mostly taking the form of questions being put to the

Devil by Muhammed. During the course of this discussion Muhammed asks the Devil what he thought of those of the Companions who were present. When the Devil comes to speak of Ali he complains that he is constantly being combated by him: "Oh, if I could just be safe from him, if he would just let me be, I would let him be. But he will not leave me alone". But the greatest distinguishing feature of Ali is that, according to the Jerrahi, he has seen Allah.(37) Ali is said to have declared: "I will not pray to a God whom I do not see". After which Sheikh Tosun Bayrak explains: "Obviously, since he kept up his prayers, he saw Him".

In the course of teaching about death the Jerrahi quote a saying attributed to Ali to demonstrate the strictness of the judgement which the individual is to face. He says that the judgement is so fine that:

a leaf of autumn which fell on another leaf will be made to lie under the leaf on which it lay.(38)

It is also said to be a gift from Allah mediated to Muhammed by Gabriel for Ali and his followers that the custom of fasting on the 13th,

14th and 15th days of the Arabic months was introduced. (39) When Ali asked if the gift were exclusively for him Muhammed replied: "Oh Ali, this gift is for you and for those believers who will follow your path and your example". This is taken by the Jerrahis to indicate that the practice is also to be followed by themselves and other Sufis "who follow the Tarikati Aliya". (40)

Ali has not only been responsible for the introduction of this fast. In talking of Zakat, almsgiving, Sheikh Muzafer Ozak relates the judgement of Ali with regard to this duty. (41)

Ali was asked how great a percentage of what property was to be given as alms. He replied that "to those who are mean or stingy, it means giving one fortieth". He went on to say, however, that "to us it means giving everything".

It is stated by the Jerrahis that Ali succeeded in summing up the entire "science of Sufism" in only three sentences. (42) The first of these sentences is:

Al-tafriqatu bila jam'in ishrak--the ones who see existence as other than and separate from Allah are in a state of shirk, running [sic] partners to Allah. These are the idol worshippers, as they

see existence as self-existing...

Shirk, (the attribution of partners to God) is one of the greatest sins possible for the Muslim to commit. Nothing may happen without Allah's leave and nothing exists that does not originate with Allah. This position is one common to much mysticism and is the origin of the pantheistic tendency to which much mysticism is subject. Ali's second sentence is designed to combat the acceptance of "mere" pantheism:

Wa jam'un bila tafriqatin
zindiqah--others think that existence is
Allah, and deny the existence of any
other force except the material force.
These are the ones without religion.
They think that the visible material
world is God and deny the possibility of
any other being.

Though there is nothing which is not God this must not be regarded as arguing that the physical world and the divinity are coterminous. Though the world is God, God is not merely the world. The true path to follow is that between the two already mentioned. This is described as:

Wal-jam'u wal-tafriqu tawhid--the ones
who are able to both associate and
dissociate, the ones who can view the
world and Allah separately and at the
same time as one, have achieved Unity.
They have been able to detect the soul,
the secret of all existences within
themselves--which is like the string of
your prayer-beads, tying everything
together--and have reached the state of
fana fillah, losing oneself in Allah...

Obviously to say that the world and Allah are, at one and the same time, both separate and one is to state a paradox. In a later chapter we shall return to look at these matters in more detail.

Finally mention may be made of another saying of Ali given prominence by the Jerrahi. Because it is argued that the ego of the individual is too strong for man to be able to combat it all the time it is important not to attempt too much in the sufi journey. Ali is recorded as having said: "Relieve your hearts, because if the heart is pressed hard it tires and leaves everything." When the heart thus tires the sufi is advised to feed it with just enough of any lawful pleasure or relaxation.(43) In this way the sufi will protect himself from excessive boredom, stress and fatigue in the struggle with his ego.

The Jerrahi sources use the word ego in the above to translate the Turkish word nafs, which they also sometimes translate with the phrase "the lower self". This could become a source of confusion. Nafs denotes that part of a human being which is wilful, in contradistinction

to the higher self that accepts the will of Allah.

For the Jerrahis the nafs is wholly bad with no redeeming qualities whatsoever, and the pursuit of the sufi path leads to the annihilation of this nafs. This is not a picture which holds true for the ego as conceived in the West. In general usage the ego is taken to mean the self, incorporating both good and bad aspects, positive and negative. In its technical sense within Freudian psychoanalytic theory the ego is:

the part of the psychic structure that is concerned with facing up to the demands of the real world, and dealing with both the impulses from the Id and the requirements of the Superego.(44)

In the West a well developed but not over-developed ego is considered beneficial, even essential, to the functioning of a person. In sufism, the nafs is completely detrimental to the individual's functioning as a good Muslim. Hence the possible confusion where one term is used to translate the other. In the remainder of this work I shall avoid this problem by using the word nafs as though it were an English word when nafs is what appears in the original. (The nafs will be discussed in much greater detail in the chapter on the Sufi Path.)

The second individual on the silsila mentioned as of particular importance to the Jerrahi is the famous Hasan of Basra.(45) Al-Hasas ibn Abi 'l Hasan al-Basri was born in Medina in about 21/642. His father was a slave who became a client of the Prophet's secretary Zaid ibn Thabet. He was brought up in Basra and came to be one of the most prominent figures of his generation. He was most widely famed for his outspoken criticisms of worldliness and his uncompromising piety. He died in Basra in 110/728.

Tradition tells us that Hasan was a jewel merchant and engaged in trade with Byzantium. It is also said that every day Hasan performed the afternoon prayer in Basra and then travelled to the Khalf mosque in Mecca to converse with an old man before returning to Basra for the evening prayers. This demonstrates the often attested ability of the Muslim saint to transport himself from place to place without being restricted by the usual constraints of time and distance. Another indication of the sanctity of

Hasan is his reported ability to place his hand into a burning fire without having his body in the slightest affected by the burning.

Hasan is claimed by the Mutazilites as a founder of their movement.(46) The sufis, on the other hand, see him as one of the greatest saints of early Islam. In fact, almost all religious movements within Sunni Islam trace themselves back to Hasan and his fame was such that it is reported that when he died the whole city of Basra attended his funeral. His name can be found as an early link in the silsila of a great many sufi orders.

Hasan's fame rests largely on the uprightness and sincerity of his religious personality and on his sermons and pronouncements.

In these he warned his fellow citizens against committing sins and ordered them to regulate their entire lives in accordance with the will of Allah.

Hasan judged sins strictly regarding the sinner as being fully responsible for his actions and would not accept the reasoning which argued that God created all actions and so the individual sinner could not reasonably be held responsible for his sin.

By the standards of later Islamic history Hasan handled Hadith (traditions relating to the Prophet) in a careless manner. It is reported, for example, that when Hasan's own sayings were being circulated as Hadith as if they had been uttered by Muhammed, Hasan did not object to this practice. For this reason he is designated as Mizan, "rich in forgeries", by Dhahabi when he assesses Hasan's reliability as a transmitter of Hadith.(47)

In his sermons he warned against becoming attached to earthly possessions. He was suspicious of those who amassed wealth and possessions as he considered that all men were already on the way to death. Those who had died were simply waiting for the rest of mankind to follow them into the grave. His asceticism was the more remarkable as a worldly spirit had, by this time, entered Islam due to the Muslim conquests of prosperous towns and provinces in the early years of the political and military expansion of the Islamic state. The influence of Hasan's ascetic piety persisted in Basra long after his death.

A tradition concerning the "Conversion of Hasan of Basra"(48) indicates that his asceticism was based on a keen awareness of the approach of death and its inescapability. While visiting Byzantium in his capacity as a jewel trader Hasan was visiting the Prime Minister when the latter invited Hasan to ride with him. Riding into the desert they came to a very luxurious tent. As they stood watching, the tent was surrounded by a number of soldiers who said a few words and then departed. Then a group of philosophers and scholars came and did likewise. On their departure the same procedure was repeated by a group of three hundred elders, who in turn were followed by "moon-faced" maidens.

Understandably Hasan was puzzled by these events and asked the Prime Minister to explain them to him. He explained that within the tent was a Byzantine prince who was greatly accomplished in all the branches of learning, of unsurpassable beauty and unequalled in manly prowess. However, this prince had fallen ill and all the great physicians of the Empire had proved unable to cure him. At length he had died and

was buried within the tent.

Now every year the soldiers gathered around the tent and stated that they would have gladly fought and died for the prince but that this would have been of no avail as the affliction from which the prince had suffered could not be overcome by military force. The philosophers declare that they would have gladly done all they could but that learning was ineffective against the prince's affliction. The elders declare the uselessness of intercession as an aid to curing the prince. Likewise the maidens who came carrying treasure testify to the fact that great riches would not have been efficacious in curing the prince. Since the death of the prince these visitations had taken place every year.

All this so affected Hasan, we are told, that he returned home to Basra where he took an oath never to laugh again "till his ultimate destiny became clear" and he "flung himself into all manner of devotions and austerities such that no man in his time could exceed that discipline".

Thus is explained, in legendary form, the origin of Hasan's emphasis on asceticism.

A further story concerning Hasan is told by the Jerrahi. (49) This occurred while Hasan was circumambulating the Ka'ba in Mecca. He came across a young man walking round the Ka'ba carrying a large basket on his back. When Hasan asked what was in the basket he was told that it was the young man's mother. The young man explained that his mother had always longed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca but as she had been poor all her life she had never attained her wish. The young man had put his mother in the basket and put the basket on his back and carried her to Mecca from their home in Syria. The young man asked Hasan if, by doing this, he would have been able to repay the debts which a child naturally owes to its mother. Hasan's reply demonstrates the inability of a child to repay its mother for the trouble mothers take to nurture their children: (50)

Even if you were capable of doing it seventy times over, bringing your mother on your back from Syria to the Ka'ba and circumambulating it like this, you could never compensate your mother for one kick you gave her when you were inside her womb. (51)

The third important figure in the silsila is Juneyd of Baghdad, (52) a celebrated sufi known in full as Abu 'l-Kasim b. Muhammed b. al-Djunayd al-Khazzaz al-Kawariri al-Nihawahdi. His uncle, Sari al-Sakati, was his main teacher in the sufi tradition, though Juneyd often associated with Harith al-Muhasibi with whom Juneyd is said to have discussed many questions relating to mysticism. Juneyd was a native of Baghdad and died there in 298/910.

Juneyd's father, who was a glass merchant, died while Juneyd was still very young and so al-Sakati, Juneyd's uncle and a merchant dealing in spices and seasonings, took Juneyd into his own house and brought the boy up. Juneyd himself became a merchant in raw silk. The major part of Juneyd's Islamic education, apart from his studies of sufism under his uncle's tutelage, comprised studies in Islamic law and Hadith under Abu Thawr (d. 240/854-5).

From his early childhood Juneyd was thoughtful, quick of understanding, well disciplined, an earnest seeker after God and of

penetrating intuition. He was also said to be "given to spiritual sorrow. (53) It is said that Juneyd heard a voice from heaven when he asked what sin he had committed. The reply is said to have been: "Do you look for a more grievous sin than this...that you exist". (54) This purely negative evaluation of the self is a part of the psychological profile of many mystics, and has led to speculation as to whether this ought to be understood as being symptomatic of reactive depression, neurotic depression or existential pain.

At the age of seven Juneyd accompanied his uncle on the pilgrimage to Mecca. There he observed four hundred sheikhs who were discussing among themselves the true meaning of thankfulness. On his uncle's prompting Juneyd offered his opinion to the assembled sheikhs who all agreed that a better definition could not be found anywhere. His definition is recorded as being that "you should not disobey God by means of the favour which He has bestowed on you, nor make of His favour a source of disobedience". (55)

Juneyd is said to have been unwilling to

preach or teach others and only began to preach when ordered to do so by a vision of the Prophet which appeared to Him in a dream. (56) Once he had started to teach, however, his influence was considerable.

Together with Muhasibi he is to be considered the greatest exponent of the "sober" school of sufism. This school rejected the more extreme manifestations and utterances of the more ecstatic, "drunken" school. Juneyd believed that sufi teachings were based on the fundamentals of Islam and worked to prove this view to those Muslims who were not sufis. He stressed the orthodox elements in the sufi tradition and helped to make sufism acceptable to orthodox, mainstream Islam.

In his attitude towards life in general Juneyd took a middle course between the two extremes of aesthetic luxury and hardy asceticism, both of which were to be found among the sufis of his time. He also stressed the theme, by no means original, that as all things have their origin in God so the ultimate aim of all things, and particularly of the sufis, must be to live

again in God by means of the mystical state of "passing away" (Fana). As the Jerrahis report, someone asked Juneyd: "What is the end?" His answer was that the end is "to return to where one has started". (57)

In Juneyd's conception of the spiritual path of the sufi great stress was placed on the importance of ethical conduct. As he said: "Your heart is the private sanctuary of God...so far as you are able, admit nought unsanctified into the private sanctuary". (58) The Jerrahis record the following claim of Juneyd as to the importance of good conduct: "Good-naturedness, humbleness, generosity and above all beautiful behaviour will lead men to the highest spiritual levels". (59)

Before leaving Juneyd some few titles applied to him in the later tradition may be noted as indicators of the respect with which he was remembered. He is variously described as: Sayyid al-Ta'ifa, Lord of the Sect, Ta'us al-Fukara, Peacock of the Dervishes, and Shaykh al-Mashayikh, Director of the Spiritual Directors. In addition to which Juneyd is regarded by some to

have been the Kutb, Pole, of his age. (60)

The last of the individuals from the silsila deserving special mention is Suhrawardi, a prominent saint with a magnificent mausoleum in Baghdad. (61) Shihab al-Din Yahya ibn Habash ibn Amirak al-Suhrawardi, sometimes called al-Maqtul, "he who was killed", (62) was born in 549/1153, in the village of Suhraward near the modern Iranian city of Zanjan.

He received his early education from Majd al-Din al-Jili in Maraghah. Later he moved to Ispahan where he completed his formal education under Zahir al-Din al-Qari. With his formal training complete, he set off and travelled throughout Persia meeting various sufi masters. During this period, in addition to travel, much of his time was spent in long periods of spiritual retreat in prayer and meditation. He followed his Persian travels with more journeys, this time to Syria and Anatolia.

Suhrawardi accepted an invitation from Malik Zahir, son of Saladin, to stay for a while at his court in Aleppo. However Suhrawardi's

lack of prudence in expounding some of his doctrines in front of all kinds of audiences created many enemies for him among the ulema. These men petitioned Saladin to have Suhrawardi executed for propagating doctrines which they considered to be contrary to the tenets of orthodox Islam. The ulema had to appeal directly to Saladin because Malik Zahir had proved unwilling to have Suhrawardi executed. Saladin bowed to the wishes of the ulema and put pressure on his son who reluctantly had Suhrawardi put into prison where he died in 587/1191 at the age of 38. Although it is not possible to be certain of the exact cause of Suhrawardi's death Spies and Khatak suggest that he died of either starvation or strangulation.(63) During his 38 years Suhrawardi founded a new intellectual perspective within Islam and wrote more than fifty works in both Arabic and Persian.

A title bestowed upon Suhrawardi is Sheikh al-Ishraq, the master of illumination. The rationale for this title is to be found in his philosophy. For him the entire universe consists of nothing but degrees of light and darkness. The source of all existence is a pure light, a

Divine Essence whose light is so intense as to be blinding. Things may be measured by the degrees to which they are themselves illuminated and approach this Supreme Light. The understanding of the human individual according to Suhrawardi is centred upon the soul which is understood as a light which, because it originated in the Divine Light, must seek through the confused labyrinth of the cosmos for the primordial celestial abode from which this light originated. Thus we can see, repeated in different language, the theme of the life of the individual being a journey back towards the Divine Essence from which the individual originated.

THE BRANCHES OF THE HALVETI.

Umar Khalwati, the 'pir' of the Halveti order is a shadowy figure of whom little is known for certain. He was born, according to one tradition in Lahidj, Djilan, and died in Tabriz in 800/1397.(64) However, even this limited amount of information is open to question. Other sources state the place of his death to be Caesarea in Syria,(65) while the date of his death is given by the Jerrahis as 748/1347-8.(66)

Despite this confusion it seems clear that he was the founder of the order to only a limited extent. Although he seems to have inspired many sufis to follow his favourite form of retreat (Khalwa), (67) he seems to have been unconcerned with the organisation of these individuals into a single institution or movement. (68)

The work of organising these sufis into a single movement fell to Yahya Shirvani from Shamakhi in the Caucasus. He died in Baku; (69) the precise date of his death is uncertain and is variously given as 862/1457-8, (70) c. 1460, (71) and c. 1463. (72) It was this Yahya Shirvani, known as the 'second Pir' of the Halveti order, who created a religious and political movement of some significance out of the sufis in the Baku area. He had, however, been inclined towards sufi doctrine and practices prior to his move to Baku as it was owing to a dispute with a fellow sufi that Yahya originally left Shamakhi for Baku. (73)

The Halveti order "was characterized by

a continual process of splitting and re-splitting".(74) The various branches of the order, however, have certain features in common. Throughout its history, for example, the Halveti has been predominantly an urban order attracting the majority of its adherents from the big cities.(75) At times the order has shown distinct Shi'i leanings, though the extent of this has varied between one branch order and another as well as varying over time within individual groups.(76)

On questions of doctrine and ritual practice a little may be said in general terms.(77) More detailed consideration of these topics with specific relation to the Jerrahis will be given later. The basic foundations of the order may be enumerated as follows: 1) voluntary hunger (dju), 2) silence (samt), 3) vigil (sahar), 4) seclusion (i'tizal), 5) dhikr, 6) meditation (fikr), 7) permanent ritual cleanness, and 8) tying (rabt) one's heart to one's sheikh. In some sources, however, only the first four of these are mentioned.

A ritual element common to all Halveti

groups is the reading of the Wird al-Sattar of Yahya al-Shirwani, consisting of three sections which glorify, in turn, the oneness of God, the Prophet and his Prophethood, and the companions of the Prophet. According to Mustafa Kamal al-Din al-Bakri (on whom see below) this is the pivot of Halveti ritual and should be read aloud by one member while the others listen. So important did al-Bakri consider this that he proclaimed it to be the equivalent in merit of the silent dhikr. (78)

The Halveti conceive of the spiritual path as being composed of seven stages to each of which there is a corresponding word or phrase for the dhikr. From the lowest stage to the highest these are as follows:

La Illaha Illallah,
Allah,
Hu,
Hayy,
Haqq,
Kayyum,
Kahhar.

Prayer tasks other than the dhikr may be required of individual dervishes, as may periods of fasting and nightly vigil. These additional acts differ considerably between the various branches. In most branches of the Halveti periodic retreats are still required of the dervishes, though the length

of these retreats will vary from one branch to another between three and forty days.

There are a great many branches or sub-groups of the Halveti and it is proposed now to trace the broad outlines of the process by which these various groups split away from one another. Indeed it may well be argued that all that remains of the Halveti order is the sub-groups as the process of splitting has been so extensive and began at such an early date that it is difficult to find a group which owes allegiance to the founders of the Halveti and to no other 'Pir'.

The first set of sub-orders or branches may be traced from two pupils of Yahya Shirvani.(79) The first of these was Yusuf Shirvani whose date of death is unknown. He was a Khalifa of Yahya Shirvani and was followed in turn by two sufis who each founded their own orders. The first of these was Shams al-Din Ahmad Sivasi (d. 1006/1597 in Sivas) whose order is known as the Shamsiyya.(80) The other important follower of Yusuf Shirvani was Abd al-Ahad Nuri al-Sivasi (d. 1061/1650 in Istanbul)

who founded the Sivasîyya. (81)

Another of the Khalifas of Yahya Shirvani through whom Halveti branch orders trace their descent is Umar Rushani (d. 892/1486 in Tabriz). He became a protege of the "White Sheep" ruler of Tabriz, Uzun Hasan. He initiated into the Halveti order Muhammed Demirdash al-Muhammadi (d. 929/1524) and Ibrahim Gulshani (d. 940/1534 in Cairo). (82) It was mostly under the influence of these two men and their followers that the Halveti order first began to make progress in urban districts of Egypt. Adherents in Egypt included the soldiers and civil servants who were much in evidence in the Halveti groups in Turkey, but the orders in Egypt seem to have had far more sympathy with the masses than was the case in Turkey. (83)

Another student of Umar Rushani had also found his way to Egypt, in addition to Demirdashi and Gulshani. Shahin al-Khalwati, like Demirdashi, was most probably an Azeri Turk from Azerbaijan. (84) He was to become well known in Egypt in his old age and was often visited by the rulers and great men of his day. He was

withdrawn from society, slept but little, and went about in dirty, worn clothes. He seems to have presented, in every way, the image of the advanced and unworldly mystic. However, because he was ill-suited for, or merely disinterested in, organisational tasks he left no branch order after him.

Demirdashi was much better at such organising activities and this fact, united with the mixture of piety and generosity which made him such an attractive character, enabled him to found a group which would survive his death. This branch of the Halveti group of orders came to be known as the Demirdashiyya. (85) He too slept but little and is said to have risen before dawn every day and to have spent the early hours of the day in reciting the whole Qur'an. (86)

Demirdash founded a mosque and zawiya in Cairo between the Husayniya quarter of the city and the tomb of al-Ghauri. (87) In 1887 Ali Pasha Mubarak described the building as containing some fifty Khalwas (small rooms or cubicles used during the retreat), and Lane describes the Khalwas as still being in use for "three days and nights, on

the occasion of the moolid [sic] of that saint".(88) Demirdash was buried in his zawiya, most probably at his own request.(89) His reputation for possessing baraka was such that after his burial in the zawiya it became a place of pilgrimage and supplication for the ordinary people of Cairo.(90)

The most prominent Egyptian follower of Demirdash was one Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Karim al-Din al-Khalwati (890-986/1485-1578), described as a "singer, magician-astrologer and man of baraka".(91) Karim al-Din originally came to the notice of Demirdash because of his fine singing at the dhikr. He was a man of considerable charisma and was chosen by Demirdash to succeed him as head of the order. Karim al-Din did not take immediate control of the order on the death of Demirdash, however, owing to a political contest within the order. A little later Karim al-Din did manage to become leader of the order which he controlled until his death, at which point he was buried in the zawiya and the leadership of the order reverted to the descendants of Demirdash.(92)

The remaining influential Halveti in Egypt at this time was Ibrahim Gulshani, mentioned above, who founded the Gulshaniya (also called the Rawshaniya) order.(93) Like Demirdash, Gulshani was also a Turk, though he was from the region of Diyarbekir.(94) He left home at an early age with the intention of studying with Islamic scholars in Transoxiana, but only got as far as Tabriz where he became a follower and pupil of Umar Rushani.(95) After completing his studies he travelled for a while, eventually settling in the Mu'ayyadiya quarter of Cairo where he founded a zawiya opposite the mosque of al-Mu'ayyadiya which, in addition to the Khalwas for his followers, contained a tomb in which he was to be buried. Within this zawiya great emphasis seems to have been placed on the pious duty to feed the poor. In the time of Ali Pasha Mubarak the zawiya was still in regular use with resident dervishes performing a weekly dhikr and celebrating an annual mawlid for the founder.

After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt Gulshani continued to teach in his zawiya as he had done under Mamluk rule. It is probably a measure of the social esteem which Gulshani

enjoyed at this time that his son was able to marry the widow of the last Mamluk Sultan Tuman-Bey. After the conquest Gulshani's popularity extended to many of the Ottoman soldiers in addition to native Egyptians.(96)

By the time Suleyman the Magnificent came to the Ottoman throne (926/1520) Gulshani had become sufficiently important to have attracted both the attention and the dislike of Ibrahim Pasha, the Ottoman Viceroy in Egypt. Ibrahim succeeded in obtaining an order from Istanbul summoning Gulshani to that city to defend himself of the charge of heresy.(97) When Gulshani arrived in the Ottoman capital, however, he seems to have made a considerable impact and succeeded in obtaining support from Kamal Pashazade the sheikh ul'Islam and other influential officials.(98) He also received favourable attention from the Sultan. Because of this success Gulshani opened a branch of his order in Turkey which had three tekkes in Istanbul by the time Gulshani set off to return to Egypt.(99) Of these tekkes only two survived until 1921, the other having been destroyed in one of the many fires in the city in the preceding ten or twelve

years which between them had destroyed some sixty one tekkes.(100)

Meanwhile the Gulshani branch of the Halveti continued to make progress in Egypt during the reigns of Suleyman the Magnificent and his successor Selim II.(101) The charisma of Gulshani attracted to him many followers of both the ordinary city-dwellers and the class of officials. In addition to his charisma Gulshani is also described as being "very taciturn and barely articulate".(102) It is also claimed that he was illiterate though a number of works in Persian and Turkish, and a Divan in Arabic have all been attributed to him.

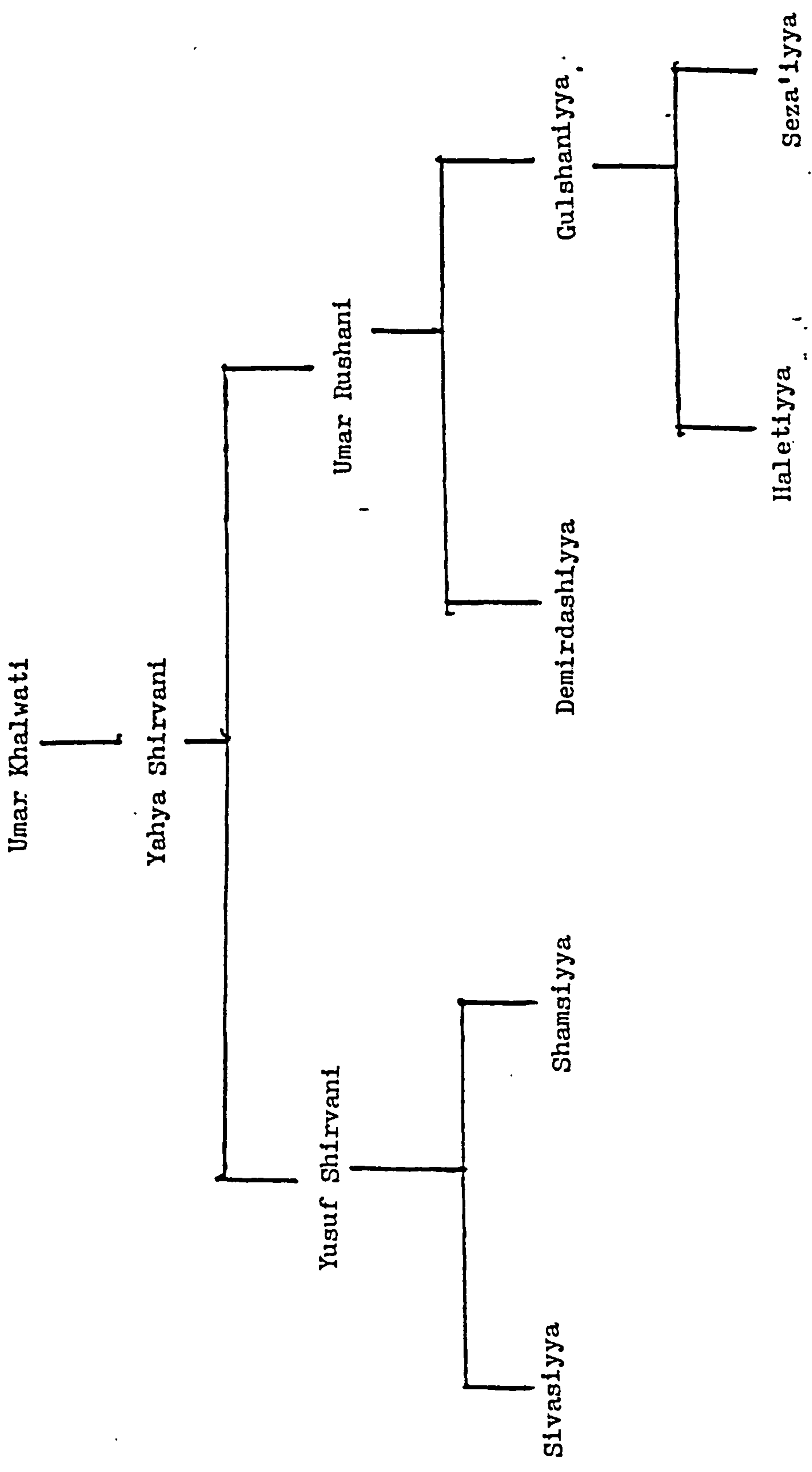
After his death Gulshani was followed as leader of the order by his son, Ahmad Khayali (d. 977/1569-70). After Ahmad's death, however, the Gulshaniya appear to have lost their momentum in Egypt, though a group continued to exist, albeit a none-too active one, until the 1880s.(103)

Finally, two groups which split from the Gulshaniya gained a certain measure of renown and may be mentioned here. The first was founded by

Hasan Seza'i (d. 1151/1758 in Edirne) which was known as the Seza'iyya.(104) The other group, known as the Haletdiyya, was founded by Hasan Haleti Ali Ala (d. 1329/1911 in Edirne).(105)

Figure one summarises the developments which have just been described.

A second strand to be followed was based largely, at least in its earliest history, in Anatolia and Istanbul. The first link in this chain was another pupil of Yahya Shirvani called Muhammed Erzincani (d. 879/1474).(106) After the death of Shirvani the centre of the Halvetis moved from Baku to Amasya in North Central Anatolia, where Erzincani was the most prominent figure.(107) In Amasya Erzincani is said to have led an exemplary sufi life. At this period Amasya was under Ottoman rule, governed by the future Bayezid II, but the region, inhabited as it was by many Turkoman settlers, maintained a tradition of Shi'i sympathy, religious heterodoxy and popular revolt. The city represented "an urban island in a sea of Turkish nomadism".(108)



On the death of Erzincani he was followed as leader of the Halveti's in Amasya by his most gifted pupil, Muhammad Jamal al-Din al-Aqsara'i who was better known as Celebi Khalifa, or Celebi Efendi, (109) (d. c. 903/1497 near Damascus). (110) Another teacher of Celebi was one Ala-al-Din Ali al-Qaramani. (111) It was this Ala-al-Din Ali who seems to have made the first attempt of any importance to establish an Halveti order in Istanbul. Some time between 1475 and 1480 he travelled from Amasya to Istanbul but was asked to leave the capital when the Sultan, Mehmed II (ruled 1451-1481), became suspicious at the number of followers he was attracting. (112) These bare facts may represent the beginnings of political ambition among some Halvetis.

Under Celebi Khalifa this strand of the Halveti is often known as the Jamaliyya, and under his guidance the order entered the world of Ottoman politics with some success. (113) Bayezid gathered many important dervishes around him at his court in Amasya, and Celebi Khalifa was one of those present.

In 1481 Bayezid and his court at Amasya were troubled by rumours reaching them from Istanbul to the effect that the Grand Vezir Qaramanli Mehmet Pasha had suggested to the Sultan that Bayezid should be killed and the Ottoman state pass to Jem, the Sultan's other son.(114) The Halvetis under Çelebi Khalifa remained loyal to Bayezid at this point and Çelebi himself emerged as a practitioner of magic: "a master of black arts (sihr), a specialist in the science of magic squares ('ilm al-awfaq)".(115) Çelebi presented himself as one who, by means of visions and magic squares, could see what the Sultan and his Grand Vezir in Istanbul were planning, and with this knowledge he was believed to be able to frustrate their plans. When news of the unexpected death of the Sultan reached Amasya Bayezid and his entourage immediately set off for Istanbul where Bayezid succeeded in claiming his throne. Although there are different versions of these incidents, Martin suggests that they may indicate a plot by Bayezid and his followers, including the Halvetis, to poison the Sultan and his Vezir before they had a chance to do the same to them.(116)

There followed the thirty year reign of Bayezid II which was the real heyday of the Halveti order in Ottoman Turkey.(117) The headquarters of the order was moved from Amasya to Istanbul at the Sultan's request, and Bayezid himself is said to have attended some of the rituals of the order. The traditional allegiance of certain sectors of the Ottoman military, administrative and aristocratic elite dates back to this period.(118) Such people may, at this time, have seen the Halveti order as a means of gaining favour with the new Sultan. Under the leadership of Çelebi Khalifa the Halvetis consolidated their strong position in the capital.

When the headquarters of the order first arrived in Istanbul the Sultan gave them a Byzantine church to be rebuilt into a tekke for the order. The task of rebuilding and altering the church was entrusted to the care of the Vezir Khwaja Mustafa Pasha by whose name it came to be known.(119) Perhaps the most telling indicator of the esteem in which Çelebi Khalifa was held, however, is the fact that it was to him that the

Sultan entrusted the education of his son Ahmad. (120)

During this period a branch of the Jamaliyya was formed in Syria where it had been introduced by Uways al-Karamani, who was a Khalifa of Celebi Khalifa. (121) From this Syrian branch two other Halveti groups emerged. The first of these was al-Assaliyya which was founded by Ahmad ibn Ali al-Hariri al-Assali (d. 1048/1638 in Aleppo). (122) The second branch was known as the Bakhshiyya which was founded by Muhammed al-Bakhshi al-Halabi al-Bakfaluni (d. 1098/1686 in Mecca). (123) This branch is also known, in Turkish, as the Bahsiyye and had its main centre in the Ikhlasiyya tekke in Aleppo. (124)

After the death of Celebi Khalife the main order in Istanbul passed without dispute to the leadership of Yusuf Sünbül Sinan al-Din (d. 936/1529 in Istanbul). (125) After this it became known as the Sünbúliyya after him. (126)

The next notable event in the history of the Halvetis was the death in 1512 of Bayezid. (127) With this the first stage in the

history of the Halvetis in Turkey came to a close. The phase, covering the entire reign of Sultan Bayezid had seen the expansion westwards of the order and its becoming firmly established in the capital.(128)

During the second phase, while Sultan Selim I occupied the throne, the order stagnated.(129) The order was not supported by the new Sultan nor by the leading ulema of the day. Broadly speaking two reasons for this may be identified. Firstly, Selim I was suspicious of Khwaja Mustafa Pasha who had helped Selim's brother Ahmad in the struggle for the succession after the death of Bayezid.(130) Selim also believed the Pasha to have been implicated in the mysterious death of his uncle Jem, the brother of Bayezid, who was at one time believed to be the preferred successor of Mehmed II (see above). As the Pasha was closely involved with the Halvetis, we saw earlier how he had been in charge of converting a Byzantine church into a tekke for the order, the Sultan's suspicions of the Pasha caused him to mistrust the Halvetis also.

Indeed a story has come down to us which

well illustrates the atmosphere between the monarch and the order during this period.(131) The Sultan ordered that the Halveti tekke should be torn down, but the workmen who were despatched for the purpose were confronted with, and turned away by an angry Halveti sheikh. On hearing of this Selim determined to see to the matter personally. When he arrived at the tekke, however, he was faced with the sight of sheikh Sünbül Sinan seated in his robes with many silent dervishes gathered around him. At this sight, we are told, Selim too fell silent and his anger left him. The order to demolish the tekke was withdrawn and the Sultan and the Halvetis continued to live in an atmosphere of uneasy mutual tolerance. It is at least plausible to argue, as Brown does, that the real point of this story is that Selim, though suspicious of the order, was faced with its political power and recoiled from taking any steps against it.(132)

The second reason for the suspicions Selim harboured concerning the Halvetis can be traced to the rise of Safavid power and the tense relations between the Safavids and the Ottomans.(133) This reflected badly on the

Halvetis as the silsila of the Halvetis at this stage had, in common with that of the Safavids, five of the twelve Ithma'ashari Shi'i Imams present. The Safavids had become Shi'is whereas the Halvetis had remained Sunnis, but despite this the similarity was enough to bring the order under suspicion. The problem was eventually solved in the late sixteenth century by dropping the names of the five Imams from the Halveti silsila without explanation.

The third phase of Halveti history in Turkey was ushered in by the death of Selim I. The order gained a new lease of life under the two Sultans who followed Selim I to the throne: Suleyman the Magnificent (926-74/1522-66) and Selim II (974-82/1566-74). (134) During these reigns the Halvetis were once more able to bask in royal favour. The leaders of the order were careful not to allow themselves to become too closely connected to either monarch as they now realised that if they had too close a link with one monarch, they might suffer for it under his successor. (135)

It is possible that Suleyman was

influenced in favour of the Halvetis by his mother, the Crimean Princess A'ishe Sultan, who had come into contact with a Halveti sheikh named Muslih al-Din Merkez Effendi.(136) It was this Merkez Effendi (d. 959/1552) who succeeded Sûnbûl Sinan as head of the central tekke of the Halvetis in Istanbul when the latter died in 936/1529.(137)

During this period the order acquired, or had built, a good many new tekkes in Istanbul and its surroundings.(138) Away from the capital, Rumelia and Anatolia supported a growing number of Halveti centres, including the old centre of Amasya which continued to prosper. Some followers of Sûnbûl Sinan had moved to Albania while other Halvetis settled around Sofia and in the Upper Maritsa valley in Bulgaria. Indeed as the Ottoman armies conquered new lands branches of the Halveti order moved out among those sent to occupy these areas.

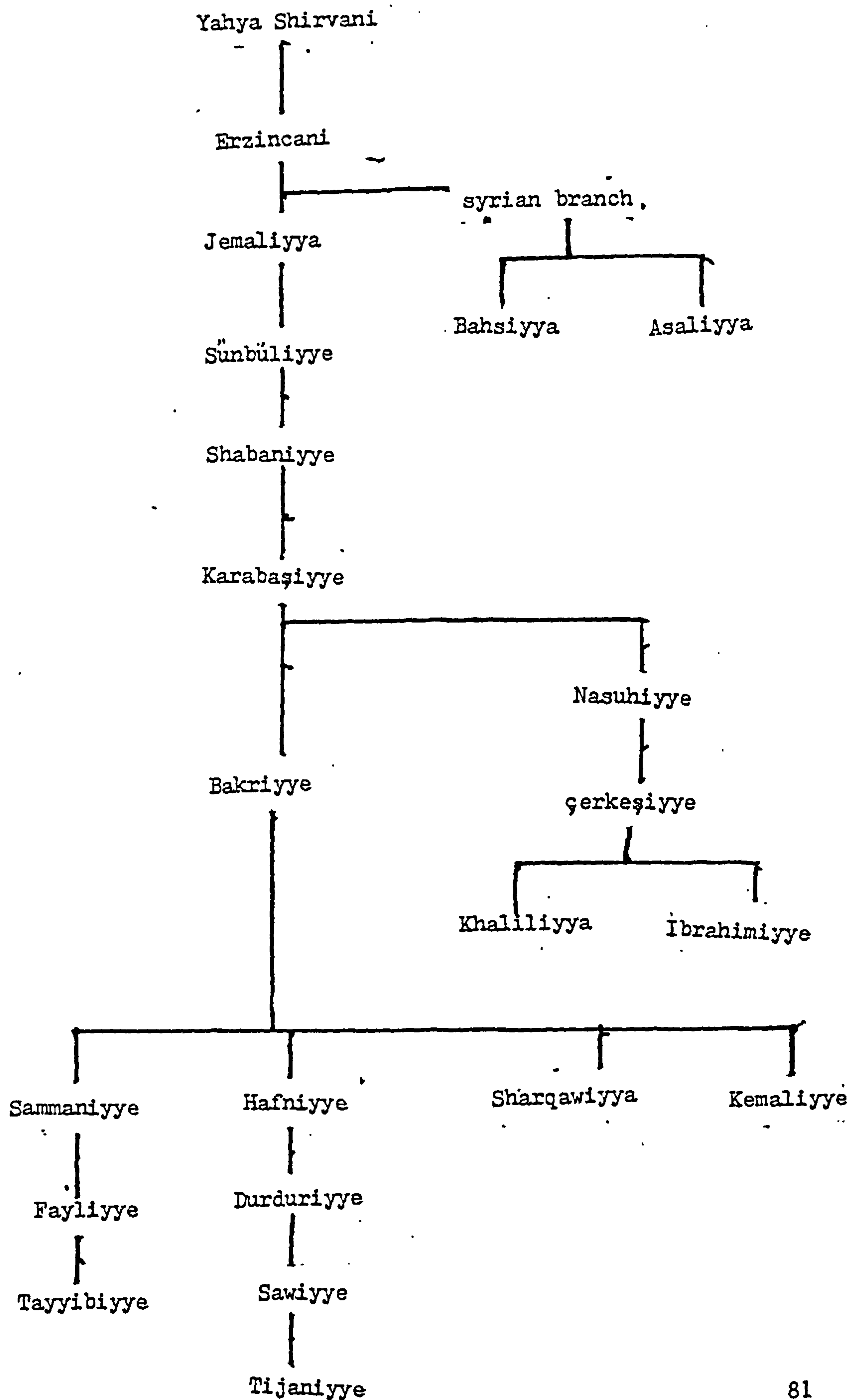
Some of the activities in these regional tekkes must have both embarrassed and worried the leaders in Istanbul. One such case may be mentioned as an illustration.(139) This concerns the activities of one Davud Khalifa, a Halveti

Mahdi from Damascus. Davud declared himself Mahdi and, followed by a group of malcontents and opponents of the Ottoman regime, succeeded in taking hold of the provincial government which they held for two days before they were overpowered by government troops. His brief rebellion over, Davud was killed by the troops who had brought it to an end. Despite these events, the revolt of Davud Khalifa appears to have done the Halvetis as a whole no real damage. It seems that as the order came to be identified with a middle and upper class membership criticisms of it from the ulema came to be either muted or were deflected onto branches of the order such as the Uwaysiya, which was founded by Davud Khalifa, and had a distinctly Shi'i odour. (140)

Mention must now be made of those branches of the Halveti which developed out of the Sūnbūliyye branch. We have seen above that Sūnbūl Sinan was followed at the head of the order by Merkez Effendi. After this, during the third phase of Halveti history, Hajji Sha'ban Veli (d. 976/1568-9 in Kastamonu) founded the Sha'baniyya order. (141)

From the Sha'baniyya the single most important group to emerge was the Karabaşıyya. (142) This branch was founded by Ali Karabaş (d. 1097/1685). (143) One line leading from the Karabaşıyya leads to the Nasuhiyya, founded by Nasuhi Mehmed (d. 1130/1717 in Istanbul) who had been a pupil of Ali Karabas. (144) Out of the Nasuhiyya, in turn, came the Çerkeshiyye, founded by Çerkeshi Mustafa (d. 1229/1813). (145) The Çerkeshiyye, in their turn, gave rise to two more branches. These were the Khaliliyya founded by Hajji Khalil Geredeli (d. 1229/1813 at Gerede) (146) and the Ibrahimiyya which was founded by Ibrahim Kusadali (d. 1283/1866-7). (147) (See Figure Two).

We saw, above, that the period of greatest influence for the Halvetis in the lands at the centre of the Ottoman Empire was in the sixteenth century under the rule of Sultan Suleyman and his son Selim who were both well disposed towards the Halvetis. In Egypt, however, the Halveti tradition was at its most vigorous during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (148) This was mostly due to the founder of another branch of the Karabaşıyya,



Mustafa ibn Mamal ad-Din al-Bakri.(149) In the first half of the eighteenth century al-Bakri founded the Bakriyya branch of the Halvetis and he and his pupils were of immense importance to the spread of Halveti influence in Africa.(150) Al-Bakri (d. 1160/1747-8),(151) was a Syrian and frequent visitor to Egypt. He was a charismatic figure, an innovator in sufi technique and a prolific author.(152) One of his Khalifas, Abd al-Karim Kamal al-Din (d. 1199/1784-5 at Gaza) founded the Kamaliyya branch.(153) Another branch developing from the Bakriyya is the Sharqawiyya founded by Abdallah ash-Sharqawi.(154)

More important than either of these, however, was the order founded by Muhammad Abd al-Karim al-Samman (A.D. 1718-75) which was called the Sammaniyya.(155) Al-Samman founded a number of zawiyas in the Hejaz and in Yemen(156) and is said to have met with the founder of the Tijanis (of whom more later) in Medina towards the end of his life.(157) Adam al-Kinani a pupil of al-Samman carried the teachings of his master into Eritrea and South-West Abyssinia, latter day Ethiopia.(158) The teachings of al-Samman were also introduced into the Egyptian Sudan, in this

case by Ahmad at-Tayyib ibn al-Bashir (d. 1239/1824). (159) In time at-Tayyib founded his own branch of the Sammaniyya known as the Tayyibiyya. (160) At one time the Sudanese Mahdi was associated with this order. (161) The remaining off-shoot from the Sammaniyya was known as the Faydiyya and was founded by Fayd al-Din Husayn Ghunayn who died in Istanbul (1309/1891) where the Faydiyya was most active. (162)

Al-Samman was not, however, the most influential and important of the pupils of al-Bakri. Al-Bakri's revival of the Halvetis in Egypt was sustained by his friend and greatest pupil al-Hafnawi. (163) This Muhammed ibn Salim al-Hafnawi (or Hafnisi, or Hifnawi) (d. 1181/1767) founded the Hafnawiyya, the most important branch to spring from the Bakriyya. (164) An energetic teacher and organiser, al-Hafnawi had a good education and was a prolific writer. (165) He was a charismatic figure who concerned himself with the hardships of the ordinary people of Egypt. Brown states that: "In him the Khalwati [Halveti] had reverted to something like the naive but sincere sufism of an Umar al-Khalwati, coupled with the political skill of a Sūnbūl Sinan". (166)

A number of Hafnawi's pupils were sufficiently important to be mentioned here. The first of these is Mahmud al-Kurdi (A.D. 1715-1780) who was a pupil of al-Bakri and joined al-Hafnawi after al-Bakri's death.(167) It is said of al-Kurdi that he could see the Prophet at will in his dreams. He is also notable for his connection with al-Tijani the founder of the Tijaniyya (see below).

Another important pupil of al-Hafnawi is the Algerian Muhammed ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Azhari (A.D. 1720-1784) the founder of the Rahmaniyya branch.(168) A number of miracles are attributed to the Baraka which flowed from al-Azhari after his death.(169) Indeed it was after the death of the founder that the significant development of this branch, mainly in Algeria and Tunisia, took place under the leadership of al-Azhari's successor Ali ibn Isa (d. 1837).(170) After the death of the latter, however, the various zawiyas became independent and the order ceased to exist as a coherent whole.(171)

Finally among the pupils of al-Hafnawi we may mention Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Adawi ad-Dardir (1127-1201/1715-1786) who founded the Dardiriyya branch.(172) He attempted to reconcile the differences between the Halvetis and the Naqshbandi order and saw his own brotherhood as a link between the other two.(173) Sometimes this order is also known as the Siba'iyya after the successor of ad-Dardir known as Ahmad as-Siba'i al-Ayyan.(174) Dardir inspired many students with his kindness and generosity and defended the common inhabitants of Cairo against injustice and oppression.(175) Both he and his successor were buried in the zawiya he founded in the Ka'kiyyin Quarter of Cairo not far from the mosque of Sidi Yahya al-Uqub.(176)

The Dardiriyya was to have great influence on events in West Africa at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was the time of the Fulani Jihad (177) the leader of which, Usman dan Fodio, was connected to the Halvetis through the Dardiriyya branch for a brief period.(178) Usman was, at one time, a pupil of Jibril bin Umar of Agades who had himself been taught by Ahmad ad-Dardir.

However it must be emphasised that Usuman remained a practising Halveti for only a short period.

One group which branched out from the Dardiriyya may be mentioned at this point. This branch was called the Sawiyya and was founded by Ahmad ibn Muhammad as-Sawi who died in Medina (1241/1825). (179) This branch did not spread far from the Hejaz but was important in that region for a time. (180)

We mentioned above that the Samaniyya leaders met with al-Tijani while the latter was on the pilgrimage. The Tijanis are often regarded as having sprung from the Halveti orders. (181) They regard themselves, however, as a 'neo-sufi' order as they regard their founder to have been inspired directly by the Prophet Muhammed. (182) Tijani was born in 1150/1737-8 in Ain Madi whose inhabitants at the time were relatively prosperous. (183) On his way to Mecca on the pilgrimage in 1186/1772-3 al-Tijani stopped in Azwawi, a town near Algiers where he was initiated into the Halveti by Mahmad ibn Abdul-Rahman. (184) When he reached Cairo he sought out Mahmud al-Kurdi of whom we have spoken above. As we

have also noted above, while in Medina he met with al-Samman, founder of the Sammaniyya. On his homeward journey he again stopped in Cairo where he was given authority to teach the Halveti way in North Africa from al-Kurdi. In 1196/1781-2 al-Tijani announced to his followers that he had seen the Prophet in a dream who had taught him the wird (litanies) of his order. This event marks the beginning of the Tijaniyya as a self-consciously separate group. He gained many followers, at least partly due to the fact that he promised paradise to anyone who gave him food or performed some other service. Tijani claimed that he was the Pole of the Poles (qutb al-aqtab) and the Seal of Sainthood just as Muhammed was the Seal of the Prophets. The Tijaniyya came to be a particularly important movement in the nineteenth and twentieth century Muslim world, particularly in North and West Africa.

This concludes our look at two major descent lines of the Halveti (figures one and two). There remains but one more line to be traced: the line which will lead to the object of this study, the Halveti-Jerrahi order.

The preliminary stages of this line are identical to those noted above: from Umar Khalwati, through Yahya Shirvani to Muhammed Erzincani. The next person in this chain is Ahmad Shamsuddin Marmarawi (d. 910/1504-5) who founded the Ahmadiyya order.(185) One of my Jerrahi informants refers to this individual also as "yighit Bashi" [Yiğit Başı] which he explains as the title of the sheikh of the Ottoman armies.(186) This designation for the leader of the Ahmadiyya is confirmed by Şapolyo and Serin, though Trimmingham appears to be confused at this point as he refers to a Ighit-Bashiyya branch founded by Shams ad-Din Ighit-Bashi (d. 951/1544).(187) The Ahmadiyya branch (188) spread into India and Pakistan, and thence to England, and also into Central Asia, China, Indonesia, the Philippines and Australia.(189)

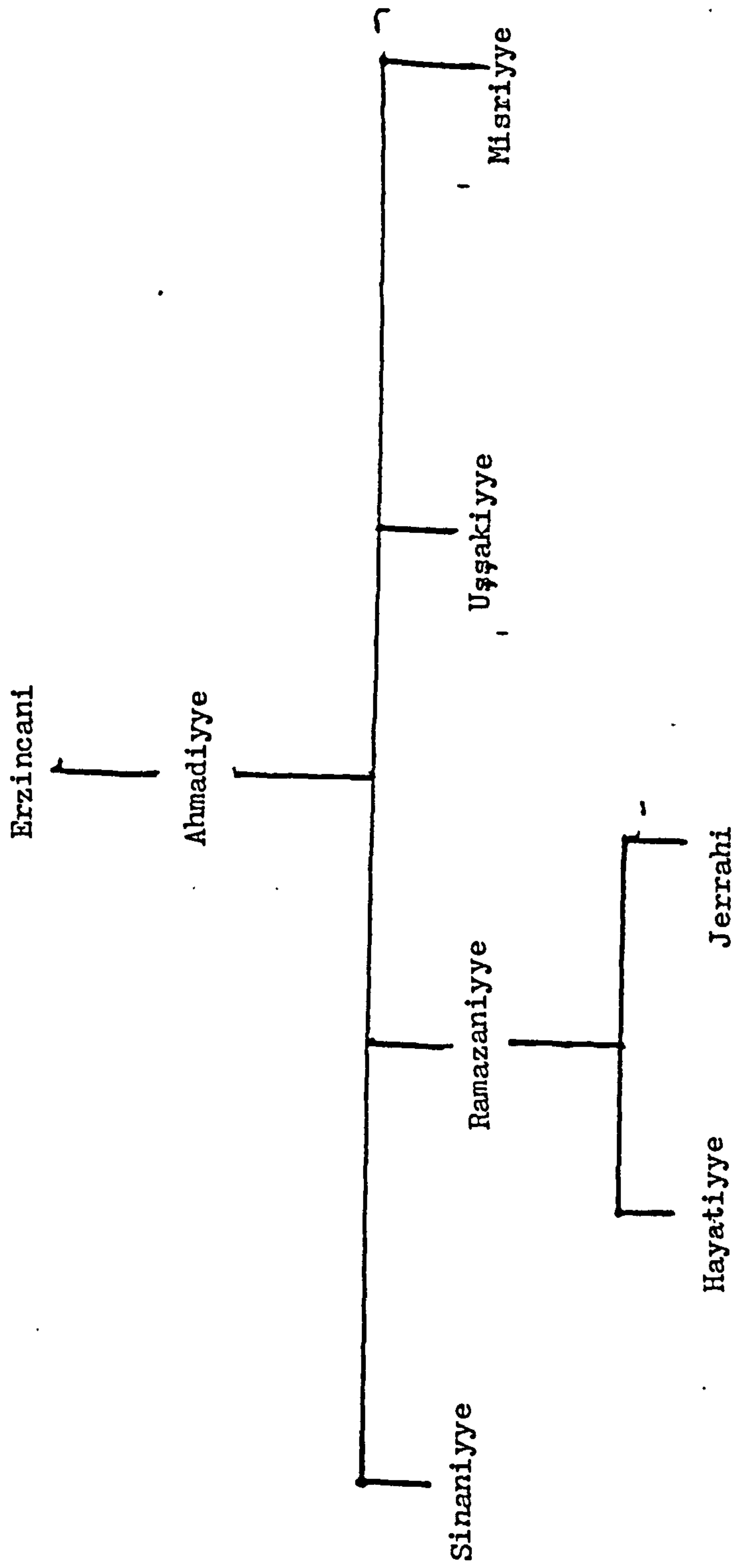
There were a number of branches which developed out of the Ahmadiyya which may be mentioned as follows. The first is the Sinaniyya founded by Umri Sinan (d. 958/1551-2 at Eyup).(190) Anderson reports that in 1921 this order had three tekkes in Istanbul.(191) Another off-shoot from the Ahmadiyya is the Misriyya which

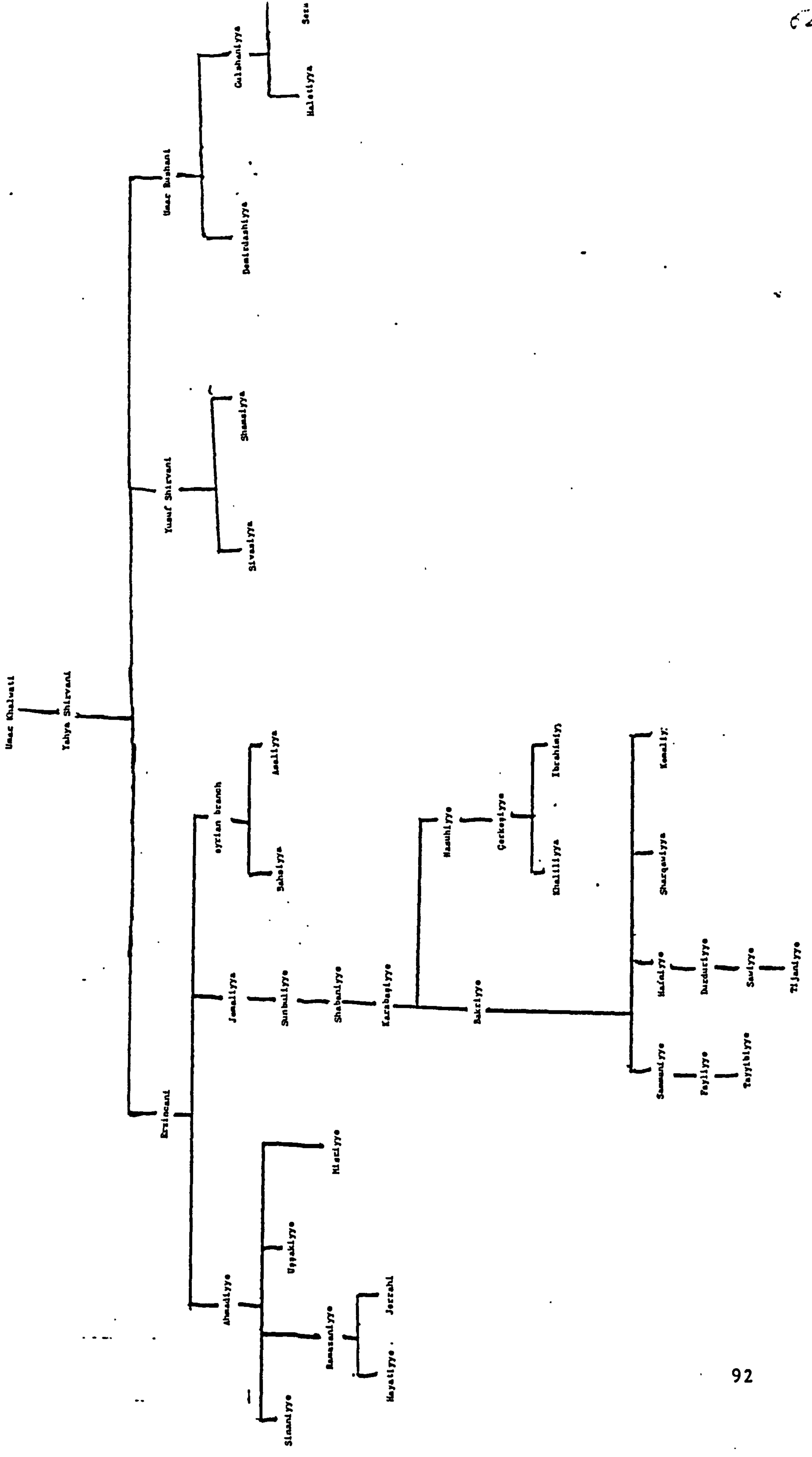
was founded by Muhammad Misri Niyazi (d. 1105/1693-6 on Lemnos). (192) He was one of the most famous Anatolian Halvetis of the late seventeenth century. (193) He was renowned for his poetry and for his mystical achievements, mixed with an opposition to the central government. He represented, one might say, the older, more 'left wing' expression of the Halveti orders which was more in tune with the religious aspirations and feelings of the ordinary masses than it was with the Sultan and his higher officials. In 1669 A.D. an admiring trader had a zawiya built for Misri in Kutahya. After some divination in 1672 he made statements adjudged to have political implications for which he was banished to the island of Rhodes by the Sultan, Muhammad IV (1648-87). This banishment proved to be short-lived. In 1676, however, he was again banished for a similar offence, this time to Lemnos. On this occasion he was not allowed to return from his exile until 1691. These banishments seem to have left him singularly unchastened for during a war against the Austrians in 1693 he visited Adrianople where his statements again led to his banishment to Lemnos where he remained until his death. Far from being a mere

trouble-maker Misri, or Niyazi as he is otherwise known, was a gifted poet, and was much occupied with divination and astrology. His thought, which was not systematic, contained a large Shi'i element: he is said to have believed that Hasan and Huseyn, the sons of Ali ibn Abi Talib, were Prophets. (194)

The two remaining groups which emerged from the Ahmadiyya which I shall note here were the Ushshakiyya and the Ramazaniyya. The Ushshakiyya was founded by Jemaluddin Ushshaki (d. Istanbul 1164/1750-1) following the inspiration of the earlier Husamuddin Ushshaki (d. 1003/1594-5 also in Istanbul). (195) Lastly from the Ahmadiyya comes the Ramazaniyya branch which was founded by Ramazanuddin Mahfi who also died in Istanbul (1025/1616-7). (196) Serin gives alternative dates for the death of the founder of this branch, 949/1542-3). (197)

Out of the Ramazaniyya a number of orders emerged of which one of the more important is the Hayatiyya founded by Mehmet Hayati Effendi. (198) This order spread throughout the Balkans and today exists largely in this area plus





a branch in New York.(199) The only other off-shoot of the Ramazaniyya which we need note is the one with which we are to be concerned in detail: the Jerrahi order founded by Muhammed Nureddin Jerrahi.(200) (See figure three).

Having thus traced the major developments in the Halveti group of orders, we may turn to a more detailed study of the Jerrahis.

The above survey has by no means exhausted all the groups claiming to be derived from the Halvetis; to produce a more comprehensive survey would require more time and space than would be appropriate here. A full summary of the material discussed here is provided in figure four.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE JERRAHI ORDER

THE FOUNDER: NUREDDIN JERRAHI

Within the Jerrahi tarikat two outline accounts of the life of the founder can be found: one published and the other an unpublished document originating with the American branch of the order.(1) The two accounts differ very little, as one would expect, although the precise date of the birth of Jerrahi is in dispute.

Both sources agree that the founder of the Jerrahi order was born before noon on Monday the 12th of Rabi 'al-awwal,(2) but there is a difference as to the year. Muzafer Ozak gives the year as 1083 A.H. (1672 A.D.), which was the year given to me by the present sheikh of the order in a conversation during 1985. The date given in the unpublished source, however, is 1089 A.H. (1678-9), which is the date favoured by Yola who has studied the contemporary manuscript

evidence.(3) This difference is remarkable mainly for the fact that at no time during my visits with the Jerrahi was this a matter for discussion and seemed to be considered an issue by none of the individuals I talked with.(4)

Jerrahi's father was a descendant of Huseyn, the son of Ali, by the name of Abdullah ibn Muhammad Husamuddin, a native of Istanbul.(5)

His mother, Amine Sultan,(6) was descended from 'Ubaydah ibn Jarrah, a Companion of the Prophet.(7) It was in the mansion belonging to this family that Nureddin Mehmet Jerrahi was born, a mansion which may still be seen today (though in rather a sorry state) across from the main gate of the Jerrahpasha mosque in Istanbul. As a child he appeared extremely gifted and had his education arranged by Mehmed Molla Efendi, the Sheikh ul-Islam at that time.(8) His education followed the pattern familiar among the Islamic religious elite with different subjects being studied under individual scholars who specialised in that particular field. We are told that Jerrahi learned to recite the Qur'an from Yusuf Efendi early in his schooling and that he was taught to write poetry by the poet Nabi (1642-1712 A.D.).

The recitation of the Qur'an was the most basic element in an Islamic education and was a subject studied to some extent by all male children. The key field of study for anyone who aspired to a career as a religious specialist, however, was jurisprudence. This was the path followed by Jerrahi and in 1108 A.H. (1696-7 A.D.), after completing his legal education, Jerrahi was appointed as a Chief Judge to the Ottoman province of Egypt, an appointment which he was destined not to fill. (9)

His departure for Egypt by ship was delayed due to the weather, so Jerrahi went to stay with his maternal uncle, Hajji Huseyn Efendi, who was a high official at the Ottoman court. During this period Hajji Huseyn lived in a mansion on a hill named Toygar, in Üsküdar, on the Asian side of the Bosphorus. Opposite this house stood the principal dergah (tekke) of the Jalwatiyya branch of the Halveti order which was founded by Selami. At this time the tekke was under the control of sheikh al-Hajj Ali Alauddin al-Khalwati Kostendili.

It was to this tekke that Hajji Huseyn took his nephew in order to introduce him to the sufi path. On first entering the presence of the sheikh, who, it is emphasised, was seeing him for the first time, the sheikh said: "welcome, my son Nureddin".(10) This showed that Ali Alauddin had the quality of a true sheikh, that he could see what was hidden to others. During the ceremony Nureddin was so affected by the proceedings that he left his place among the guests and joined in with the circle performing the dhikr. Following the performance young Nureddin begged the sheikh to accept him as a dervish. At this Ali Alauddin Kostendili ordered Nureddin:

to send back with his steward Yusuf Efendi the royal orders which appointed him Chief Justice of Egypt. He sent word to his wife to move to his parent's house, that all should consider him dead and that his property should be distributed amongst his heirs. After taking off his worldly clothes and performing ablution, he put on the garb of the dervishes.(11)

Thus passing through a symbolic death Nureddin was able to begin his new life of spiritual devotions.

For forty days Nureddin spent his time

in a solitary retreat spending his days in fasting and prayer. Following this initial intense period he was permitted to return to his home to follow his sheikh in a simple life of devotion. This lasted for seven years. In 1115 A.H. (1703-4 A.D.) at the age of twenty six, Nureddin was given the staff, robe and crown of the order and sent by the sheikh to teach the sufi path in the Karagümrük area of Istanbul, where the principal tekke of the Jerrahi order is to this day. As companions in this work Nureddin was accompanied by two dervish followers of Ali Alaüddin, both of whom were older than himself: they were Sulayman Waliuddin and Muhammad Husamuddin.

At this point the Prophet Muhammed is said to have intervened directly in our story.(12)

In a dream, Muhammed is said to have appeared to one Ismail Efendi the muezzin of the Janfeda Hatun mosque in Karagümrük. The Prophet told Ismail that Nureddin was coming, that a new dergah was to be established where the day of meeting was to be a Monday.(13) Muhammed also instructed Ismail Efendi to have a chamber of seclusion built inside his mosque for Nureddin Jerrahi. When this was

completed, we are told, Ismail Efendi took to sitting on the street waiting for the approach of Nureddin and his two companions.

Nureddin Jerrahi and his companions took the boat across the Bosphorus to the Balat region of Istanbul from where they set out on foot for the Karagümrük area. In front of the Janfeda Hatun mosque he was recognised by Ismail the muezzin who approached him and asked:

"Are you not Nureddin al-Jerrahi?" Hz. Pir [Nureddin] replied, "Yes, and you are not [sic] the muezzin Ismail who has been waiting for us!"

Here again we see the important factor of recognising a spiritual guide by the fact that he knows things which cannot be seen. Ismail was informed of Nureddin in a dream by the Prophet, we are not told of any such dream to enlighten Nureddin as to the name and function of Ismail Efendi. Nureddin simply knows, because he has the ability to know unseen and hidden things.

Another story is recounted as evidence of the power of Nureddin, a power such that he should not be opposed without some ill befalling his antagonist.(14) Next to the garden of the

Janfeda Hatun mosque lived one Tahtabashi Bekir Efendi. He was given to complaining in public about the "shouts and screams of the dervishes".(15) One Friday, following the communal prayers, this man was "loud and insulting to Hz. Pir Jerrahi who listened and then quietly withdrew into seclusion".(16) Later that day Bekir Efendi fell down the stairs in his home and was paralyzed. Shortly after his fall he came to the understanding that his misfortune was the result of his earlier behaviour toward Sheikh Nureddin. He sent word to the sheikh asking him to come and pray for him and begging his forgiveness. (We have noted, early in this chapter, this popular understanding of the sheikh as a man whose aid may be solicited in time of trouble as the prayers of the sheikh were expected to be able to intercede with the Divinity on behalf of the ordinary believer.) Nureddin forgave Bekir Efendi and prayed for his recovery. When Nureddin was about to leave Bekir Efendi, however, the man asked one thing more of the sheikh. In the event of his death, Bekir requested that Nureddin should wash his body and conduct his funeral prayers. Three days later Bekir died and, as he had promised, Nureddin

conducted his prayers and publicly declared that he had forgiven Bekir Efendi and bore witness that the latter had become a good man.

Events following the death of Bekir Efendi were to lead to the building of a dergah for Sheikh Nureddin Jerrahi and his followers.(17)

The heirs of Bekir Efendi decided that they would sell his mansion by auction. When he heard the news, Nureddin Jerrahi sent word to the auctioneer that he would pay the final price the mansion reached, regardless of what that price might be.

That night two separate individuals are said to have had dreams which contributed to the purchase of the mansion. The first of these dreams came to the Sultan, Ahmet III (1703-30 A.D.). In this dream the Prophet appeared to the Sultan and ordered him to purchase the mansion as a dergah for Nureddin Jerrahi. In the second dream, Jerrahi himself appeared to al-Hajj Bashir Agha who was the Keeper of the Sultan's Harem, and asked for the mansion to be his dergah. The following morning the Sultan and the Keeper of his Harem told one another of their dreams and the

Sultan decided that three hundred gold pieces should be sent for the purchase of the building. The money was given to Yahya Efendi, one of the royal Imams, who was despatched to present it to Nureddin Jerrahi. When Yahya entered the presence of Sheikh Nureddin, the sheikh lifted one corner of the sheepskin upon which he was sitting and showed Yahya a pile of gold and said: "As you see, we are not in need of any money. We only wish our dergah to be opened".(18) On hearing these words, we are told, Yahya Efendi immediately became a dervish, resigned his post as a royal Imam, and returned the Sultan's gold to the palace. The meaning of this story is unclear: there seems to be no logical sense in the dreams commanding the Sultan to buy the mansion only for the money to be declared unnecessary once it is delivered. The confusion is magnified by the end of this story which is that the mansion was purchased, and then demolished so that the dergah could be built on the land, the dergah which was thus erected being "built by the Sultan".(19)

The new dergah was opened on Thursday, the 6th day of Rajab in 1115 A.H. (1703-4 A.D.), the day in the Islamic calendar traditionally

taken to be the day on which Muhammed experienced the journey to Jerusalem and thence up into the seven heavens (the Miraj).(20) It was because of this opening that the day on which meetings were held in the dergah was changed from Monday, as mentioned above, to Thursday, which has remained the day for the weekly meeting until the present.(21) It was also during this year that Nureddin Jerrahi "by divine inspiration" received the divine names, prayers and recitations particular to him and to his branch of the Halveti.(22)

Nureddin Mehmed Jerrahi died on a Monday evening, on the Id al-Adha in 1133 A.H. (1720-21 A.D.), (23) and was buried in the tekke.(24) Nureddin Jerrahi is buried in such a way that his head is placed by the feet of his mother, which is taken by the Jerrahi as proof that he is in Paradise, on account of the hadith which relates that "Paradise is beneath her [a mother's] two feet".(25)

Two remarks of a general nature may be made at this point. Firstly, it is important to note the absence of detailed accounts of the life

of Jerrahi in the published and unpublished literature of the order. Indeed the conversation of members of the order is not usually concerned with Jerrahi's biography. The actual life of Jerrahi as a historical figure is not an important factor in the life of the order.

Secondly, through an analysis of the biographies of a variety of religious and secular innovators Andre Droogers has isolated a number of "symbols of Marginality". He found that all of the figures he examined, including Muhammed, displayed most of these symbols.(26) It must be pointed out, before we go any further, that this was essentially a study of how biographers talk about such innovators, rather than a study of the historical lives of the individuals:

These symbols may be present in the facts, but may also be of an artificial, constructed nature. The biographers may have based their writings on facts, but they also sometimes introduced marginal symbols in order to standardize the style of the report. However, for our purpose, this distinction does not seem to be of importance. This [Droogers] paper studies marginal symbols, whether taken from historical reality or not.(27)

The biography of Nureddin Jerrahi is significantly lacking in these symbols. This cannot be because the symbols isolated by Droogers have no

application in an Islamic context as we have noted that Muhammed was included in Drooger's study. Another explanation must be found.

I would suggest that the lack of such symbols of marginality associated with innovators can be accounted for by the traditional Islamic horror of innovation. In order for the tarikat to appear orthodox it must demonstrate that it is not, in fact, innovative. The isnad or silsila - train of transmission - of the order, going back to Muhammed, is one means of doing this. Seeing dreams of commands from Muhammed is yet another way. Yet a third, which is what we are considering here, is the option of not using the usual marginal symbols when talking about the founder. He is not to be seen as a social outsider who transforms an old institution or promotes a radically new one. Rather there is a premium on showing that the founder was very much part of the religious elite, an insider, an Islamic jurisconsult who was not a typical innovator. Hence the absence here of symbols of marginality which Droogers found to be typical of a wide range of religious and secular innovators.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JERRAHIS.

The history of the Halveti Jerrahi, like that of many sufi orders, is for the most part contained in the heads of the order members. For recent history this takes the form of simple reminiscence, while for the more distant past it takes the form of anecdotal stories which are handed down from one sheikh or dervish to another. No detailed history has been written, (28) and devotees of the order seem untroubled by the dearth of material relating to their past. They prefer to dwell upon the present teachings of the order. A satisfactory history would require an extensive use of the methods of Oral history. Since that is beyond the scope of the present work, we shall limit ourselves here to a summary of the order's development since the time of Jerrahi as described by leading members today and as are recorded in such scant records as are available. Our aim will be to provide only such background as may be considered necessary for an understanding of the present state of the order. The production of a detailed history represents an interesting and challenging topic for further research.

In 1115 A.H. (1703-4 A.D.), when the founder of the Jerrahi was sent by his sheikh to teach in Karagümrük, he took with him two dervishes, one of whom was called Suleyman Velieddin.(29) The son of a merchant, Suleyman was born in Istanbul in 1084 A.H. (1673 A.D.). Originally a follower of Sheikh Ali Kostendili he was ordered by him to go with Nureddin Jerrahi and became the first Khalife of Jerrahi when the latter formed his own order. After the death of Nureddin Jerrahi, in 1133 A.H. (1720-21 A.D.), Suleyman Velieddin became the second leader of the order based in the tekke in Karagümrük, Istanbul, inaugurated by Sheikh Jerrahi. He remained the leader of the new order until his own death in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.).

Suleyman Velieddin was succeeded by Husameddin Mehmed who had also set out for Karagumruk with Nureddin Jerrahi in 1115.(30) He was the son of one Hafiz Ahmed, the muezzin of the Atik Valide mosque in Uskudar, Istanbul.(31) A needle-worker by trade, Husameddin too was originally a follower of Sheikh Ali Kostendili until the latter told him to follow Nureddin

Jerrahi. Later he became a Khalife of Jerrahi and became head of the order in 1158 (1745), which position he held until his own death in 1168-9 (1754-5).

The third leader of the order, after its founder, was Sertarikzade Mehmed Emin el-Kuddusi who had been a Khalife of Nureddin Jerrahi. (32) The son of one Sheikh Abdullah es-Sahuri and a pupil of Sheikh Sivasizade Abd'ulbaki, Sertarikzade spent much of his early youth studying the traditional elements of an Islamic education. He became head of the order at the Karag'umr'uk tekke in 1168-9 (1754-5 A.D.), which position he occupied until his death in 1173 (1759-60).

Sertarikzade was followed as leader of the order by one of his Khalifes known as Kasimpaşali Seyyid Abd'ulaziz who was in charge of the order for a short period until his own death in 1179/1765-6. (33) In turn he was followed by Moravi Yahya Efendi, another Khalife of Nureddin Jerrahi. (34) A former student of the Aya Sofya medrese there are four Nutuk, discourses on the spiritual life, said to have been composed by this sheikh who led the order until his death in

1184/1770-1.

Moravi Yahya Efendi was followed by his son and Khalife Abdussekur Efendi.(35) Prior to the death of his father Abdussekur was the sheikh of the Hacı Evhad tekke in the Yedikule district of Istanbul. As such he would have been subordinate to his father, as the primary tekke has always been the one in Karagümrük. The sheikhs of other tekkes derive their authority from and owe allegiance to the sheikh at Karagümrük. When his father died, Abdussekur Efendi moved to take charge of the tekke at Karagümrük, where he died and was buried in 1187/1773-4.

The next two sheikhs of the order were both Khalifes of Sheikh Sertarikzade Mehmed Emin.

The first was el-Hac Ibrahim Efendi who was the sheikh of the Tamisvar tekke prior to assuming the leadership of the whole order.(36) He was buried in the Karagümrük tekke after his death in 1194/1780. In turn, he was followed as head of the order by Moravi Mehmed Efendi.(37) He showed a great interest in sufism from a very early age and was head of the order until his death in

1209/1794-5.

El-Haj Abdurrahman Hilmi, a Khalife of Sheikh Mehmed Husameddin, was the next leader of the order.(38) Born in 1100/1688 he remained in control of the order until his death in 1215/1800[sic]. In turn he was followed by Mehmed Sadik Efendi.(39) He was a Khalifa of Sheikh Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin who, in his turn, was a Khalife of Sheikh Sertarikzade Mehmed Emin, sheikh of the order from 1169 until his death in 1173/1759-60.(40) Mehmed Sadik Efendi was in charge of the order for only one year until his death in 1216/1801, to be succeeded by Sheikh el-Haj Seyyid Mustafa Efendi.(41) Born in 1123/1715, Seyyid Mustafa was a Khalife of Sheikh Nizami Halil Efendi who died in 1159/1775-6.(42) In turn, Nizami Halil was another Khalife of Sertarikzade Mehmed Emin. After Mehmed Sadik Efendi's death, Seyyid Mustafa Efendi was the head of the Karagumruk tekke until his own death in 1219/1804.

At this point, early in the nineteenth century the leadership of the order passed to Fazıl Mehmed Emin Efendi.(43) He was born in

Istanbul in 1145/1732, and accepted as his master on the sufi path Sheikh Moravi Mehmed in 1170/1756-7, later becoming his Khalife. This too was a short period in office as Sheikh Fazıl Mehmed died in 1220/1805 only a year after becoming sheikh. Next in line of succession, Seyyid Mehmed Arif Dede Efendi enjoyed a longer period as head of the order.(44) A Khalife of Sheikh al-Haj Abdurrahman Hilmi and son of Sheikh Abdussekur, Mehmed Arif Dede was born in 1169/1755-6. Upon his death in 1238/1822-3 leadership of the order passed to his stepson, Seyyid Abdulaziz Zihni.(45) In addition to this social relationship he was also spiritually related to Mehmed Arif Dede as the latter's Khalife. Between 1221 A.H. and 1238 A.H. (1806 and 1823) Abdülaziz Zihni was sheikh of subordinate tekkes in Üsküdar and Eyüp. On the death of his master he became sheikh at the central tekke, and thus head of the entire order, until his own death on 23rd Sevval, 1270/19th May 1854.

From this point, until the accession of Muzaffer Ozak to the leadership of the order in 1966, the head of the order always came from the

family of Mehmed Arif Dede Efendi and his stepson Abdülaziz Zihni. The first of this group of sheikhs was Seyyid Yahya Galib Hayati Efendi, (46) son and Khalife of Sheikh Seyyid Abdulaziz Zihni. Born in Istanbul in 1830 A.D. he was a Khalife of his father and head of the order from the latter's death until his own in 1315/1897. He was followed by his brother, another Khalife of Abdülaziz Zihni, Seyyid Mehmed Risaeddin Yaşar Efendi. (47) He continued as sheikh of the order until his death in 1913 A.D.

The last of this group of related sheikhs is Seyyid Ibrahim Fahreddin (Sevki). (48) Both a son and a Khalife of Seyyid Mehmed Risaeddin Yaşar Efendi, he was born in Istanbul on 28th Zilkade 1302/8th September 1885. He remained the acknowledged leader of the order until the Republican Turkish Government, under Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), abolished the sufi orders in 1925. (49) This abolition is taken by Yola as the final point in his outline history of the order. However, as we shall see, the order continued to function after this date, though it was forced to conduct its affairs in private rather than in public. In fact Seyyid Ibrahim

Fahreddin continued as head of the now clandestine order until his own death in Istanbul on 17th November, 1966.

After the death of Seyyid Ibrahim, the order was led by Muzaffer Ozak. In a publication intended for American sufis he has provided us with a brief autobiography which may be outlined as follows.(50) Muzaffer was born in 1916 in the family home near the Jerrahi tekke in Karagümrük, Istanbul. His mother was Hajja Aysa and his father was Hajji Mehmed Efendi an Islamic scholar from Konya. The family background of Muzaffer's father was a military, rather than a scholarly one, both Muzaffer's uncles being soldiers.

Mehmed Efendi studied at the Kursunlu medrese in Istanbul after which he was sent to the school in Plevna, at that time still part of the Ottoman Empire. It was in Plevna that he married Aysa who was to be the mother of Muzaffer. When the Ottomans lost most of the Balkan provinces of their Empire in 1878, Mehmed Efendi and his wife migrated to Istanbul where Mehmed was given a position in the Sultan's palace. In his account of his life, Muzaffer is at pains to point out,

when referring to his parents, that his "mother's family, the Ozaks, were Seyyids, descended from Ali, son in law of the Prophet".(51) Mehmed Efendi died when Muzafer Ozak was only six years old which, along with the death of Murad Reis, Muzafer's elder brother, during the Allied occupation of Istanbul at the end of World War I, left young Muzafer destitute, his only family being his mother, a sister and two small female cousins. Muzafer's straitened circumstances as the sole surviving son in a poor, fatherless family represents a symbol of marginality in his biography. We saw in the previous section that certain symbols of marginality are to be found in the biographies of many religious and secular innovators. However, it is important that much of the population of Turkey of a similar age to Muzafer Ozak could point to such symbols of marginality in their own lives. This is quite simply because Turkey went through a period of prolonged disruption during the World War and the struggle for National Independence which followed it: at this point almost the entire population was in a marginal state to some extent as they lived through the traumas caused by the death of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent birth of the

Republic of Turkey.

At the age of five or six Muzafer was taken under the wing of one of his father's old school-mates, Seyyid Sheikh Abdurrahman Samiyyi Saruhani. This individual displayed the tendency of many Muslims to belong to more than one sufi order. We are told that he belonged to the Kadiri, Nakshibandi, Ushaki and Halveti orders. For the following twelve years he saw to Muzafer's upbringing and education, and during this period Muzafer received the usual elements of an Islamic education, studying Qur'an, Hadith (traditions) and Law.

Muzafer qualified as a muezzin and served in this capacity in a number of mosques in Istanbul. While acting as a muezzin he met the Imam Hafiz Hakki Ismail Efendi who taught Muzafer the art of singing and chanting religious odes and hymns. Muzafer married one of Hafiz Ismail's relatives, Gulsun Hanim, a school headmistress, and moved into a house close to the Süleymaniye mosque. He was appointed Imam of the Vezneciler mosque and later became Imam of the mosque in the Covered Bazaar. He had also studied calligraphy

and decorative art and owned a bookstore dealing in Islamic literature.

Muzaffer's first marriage lasted twenty years until the death of his wife, but produced no children. Muzaffer subsequently remarried. This second marriage was to produce a son and a daughter.

After the death of Seyyid Sheikh Abdurrahman Samiyyi Saruhani, the next significant religious guide in Muzaffer's life was one Seyyid Sheikh Ahmed Tahir ul-Marashi, of the Shabaniyye branch of the Halveti order. With this Sheikh Muzaffer studied the works of Ibn al-Arabi. Under other men, less important to Muzaffer's spiritual development, he studied the Islamic 'science' of tafsir, the interpretation of the Qur'an.

During this period of study Muzaffer had a dream in which he saw the Prophet Muhammed, riding a camel which was led by Ali. Muhammed stopped and asked Muzaffer if he was a Muslim. When the reply was in the affirmative the Prophet asked if Muzaffer would give his head for Islam.

Muzaffer said that he would. On hearing this Muhammed commanded Ali to chop off Muzaffer's head in the name of Islam, which Ali did. With this Muzaffer woke up in a state of terror. He recounted his dream to his instructor in tafsir who gave the interpretation that Muzaffer was to follow the sufi path of Ali and that he would eventually become the head of an order.

While studying Ibn al-Arabi with Seyyid Sheikh Ahmed Tahir ul-Marashi, Muzaffer joined the latter's order, the Shabaniyye branch of the Halveti. When the latter died some time later Muzaffer, following another dream, felt himself unable to continue as a follower of the new Sheikh of the Shabaniyye. No further explanation of the content or meaning of this dream is given. Thus it was that Muzaffer continued for some time without a Sheikh, visiting the tekkes of the Kadiris and Rifais without becoming attached to either group.

Some time later he dreamt that he was in the tekke of the Halveti Jerrahi performing the dhikr while the Sheikh of that Order looked on. From this he understood that he must become a Jerrahi. He found it difficult, however, to proceed as the closure of the tekkes and banning of the orders by the Republican government made it difficult to make contact with the Sheikhs of the orders. Muzaffer presented himself at the house of the Sheikh and was received by him. On telling the Sheikh who he was, Muzaffer was greeted with the phrase: "Who does not know the preacher to women?"(52) This reminds us that even prior to his attachment to the Jerrahis Muzaffer Ozak had already attracted a reputation as a preacher and man of religion.

The Sheikh approved Muzaffer's interpretation of his dream but before accepting him as a follower desired to submit the matter in prayer himself. He too had a dream which indicated to him that he was to admit Muzaffer to his circle of followers. From then on Muzaffer visited his Sheikh two or three times a week and,

according to his own report, diligently followed his duties as a dervish.

About six months after becoming a dervish Muzaffer relates that he had a dream in which he was being questioned by three men. He recognised the questions as being from a qualifying test for the Imamate. During the questioning he understood that two of the men wanted him to pass the examination while the third did not. Through his answers, however, he was able to convince the third man that he was an Imam already and so he was approved by a unanimous vote. Despite knowing that dreams must be presented to one's Sheikh for interpretation as soon as possible, Muzaffer was unable to relate this dream to his Sheikh the following day. The second night Muzaffer had "an extremely ugly and shameful dream".(53) Though no details of the content of this dream are given it is clear that it distressed Muzaffer Ozak. Again he was prevented from seeing his Sheikh to recount this dream. The third night he dreamed that he went to the tekke and saw the dervishes performing dhikr: "in a very strange way, not reciting correctly and not doing the movements

properly".(54) He went, in his dream, through to the garden, where he saw his Sheikh who, taking hold of Muzaffer's ear and lifting him off the ground, stood striking Muzaffer repeatedly on his left side. After this he put Muzaffer into a room full of garbage and told him to clean it out as the room was to be his. This room Muzaffer recognised to be the room of the head Khalife.

The following day Muzaffer went to his Sheikh and told him of the first and third dreams. The Sheikh reproached him saying that he could not possibly have had the two dreams without there being a shameful one in the middle. After being left alone with his Sheikh Muzaffer recounted the second, shameful dream. After hearing the dreams the Sheikh appointed Muzaffer as his Khalife. There are two elements in this story which must be noted. Firstly, we see here, yet again, the importance of dreams at various stages in the story of individual sufis: dreams which are interpreted as signs from the Unseen which indicate what the sufi will, or ought to do. The second element, by now becoming familiar, is the distinctive ability of a Sheikh to see and to interpret that which is hidden from ordinary men.

In this instance not only is the Sheikh able to interpret the series of dreams, he is also aware of the existence of the shameful dream despite the fact that Muzafer did not originally recount it.

Muzafer and his Sheikh continued in close association for some nine years until the latter's death in 1966. While the Sheikh was ill during the last year of his life Muzafer was responsible for leading the dhikr. Muzafer washed the body of his dead Sheikh to make it ready for burial, with the water being poured by Kemal Baba and Sefer Baba. Now Muzafer became leader of the order, a position he was to occupy until his own death in early February 1985.

Muzafer Ozak has been succeeded as leader of the Jerrahi order by Sefer Baba, who was one of the dervishes who assisted Muzafer Ozak washing the corpse of the previous Sheikh in 1966.

A final word on the situation of the order after the 1925 legislation outlawing orders and closing tekkes would be appropriate. Sufi

orders were officially banned in 1925, as we have noted, nevertheless, as Muzafer's biography testifies, there were still sufis teaching and sufi groups meeting in private. All Muzafer Ozak's links with sufi orders took place during a period in which they were illegal. Technically speaking, the orders remain illegal to this day. Yet they are tolerated and unofficially allowed to operate so long as they refrain from activities which could be construed as political or anti-secularist. The government of Turkey has not repealed laws banning the orders, in recent years it has merely chosen not to implement them.

This situation raises a number of interesting questions about how the Jerrahi fared and functioned during the immediate aftermath of the law banning the sufi orders. Were any members of the order arrested or otherwise persecuted? What happened to the tekke while it was closed? Did meetings continue to take place, and if so where?

Finding answers to these questions would require rather more historical research than is

appropriate to the present study, but even if this were not so it is questionable in my experience whether any information would be forthcoming. The only mention of the closure of the tekkes we have seen from Muzafer Ozak was quoted above. After deciding that he was to join the Jerrahis, he wondered how to go about it as the tekkes were closed. Yet immediately after this, he goes on to tell how he took himself to the home of the Sheikh of the Jerrahis. This suggests that it was possible to find out not only who was the leader of the Jerrahis, though the order was technically banned, but also that it was possible to discover where this person lived and to go to his home in order to join the order. The ease with which the Sheikh was contacted sits uncomfortably with his status as the leader of a proscribed organisation, as too it fits but ill with Ozak's concern as to how to find him while the tekkes were closed.

The dervishes I met while in Turkey were quite resolute in not discussing the issues raised by the banning of the orders. The nearest I got to a concrete statement on the matter was the

assertion that the Jerrahis, since the foundation of the order, had always practised their rituals and held their meetings quite openly, and without interruption. I doubt that this is so. In the early years, certainly, the ban on the sufi orders was quite vigorously enforced. Indeed, the sign on the door of the tekke at Karagumruk still does not clearly reveal the religious significance of the building but proclaims it to be "The Foundation for the Promotion of Turkish Mystical Music and Folklore Research".

What has happened here, I believe, is that the Jerrahis and the government both played the same game. The government, without repealing the act abolishing the orders and closing their tekkes, merely disregarded it unless provoked to action by one group or another. The Jerrahis for their part, I would suggest, were not unaware that the order was an illegal organisation which had been outlawed and had its tekke closed. They simply ignored the fact that these things have happened. While the situation of the Jerrahis shortly after the orders were banned would indeed be an interesting area for further study, it seems to me unlikely to yield very much in the way of

results.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SUFI PATH

It is possible to consider the sufi path on two levels. It is a set of ideas and beliefs, a way of looking at the universe and man's place within it, and it is also a way of life based upon those ideas and beliefs. In sufi writings, including those of the Jerrahis these two approaches to the sufi path are usually kept quite separate. One finds both teachings on the nature of the universe and of the relation between man and the rest of creation and the Creator, and one finds teaching on practical matters of ritual and ethics. A sequential or causal argument linking the two levels is often missing however. Little argument is given linking man's position in the universe with instructions concerning how a man ought, for example, to treat his wife.

We shall follow the Jerrahis in discussing the sufi path on its two levels separately. Subsequent chapters will look at the

practical teachings regarding ritual and conduct. Here we shall treat the path as if it were nothing more than a system of ideas, a world view.

The ultimate destination of the sufi path is for the individual to achieve union with God. Originally there were as many ways to this goal as there were souls in the whole of creation.(1) As a blessing from God, there were a multiplicity of paths for the multiplicity of created beings. The extent of the blessing is highlighted when one realises that "even a microbe can lead man to the Truth", that is, to Allah.(2)

However, not all of these ways still lead to the desired goal.(3) One of my informants explained this by picturing Allah as a place surrounded by a wall with many gates in it, though he was keen to stress that Allah cannot be limited in this way. Formerly all the paths led to open gates. Now most of the paths led to gates which were no longer open. This is equally true of the Way of Jesus (Christianity), the way of Moses (Judaism) and all the multitude of other once fruitful paths which did not pass through the

Prophet Muhammed and Islam. The reason for the closure of the gates of Judaism and Christianity is that the scriptures given to the two communities have been changed. The teachings they follow are no longer the teachings that were given from God through Jesus and Moses. The original scriptures were guides to the path, like like a code given by a friend who says, for example, "when you come to my house, knock three times, and I will let you in". But because the scriptures, codes, of the Jews and Christians have been altered, they can no longer be effective in opening the gates to the presence of Allah.

One of my sources explained the nature of what happened, in part, with reference to the Jews.

He [Allah] sent the Torah...and the sons of Israel had to accept it as a whole. For a while they followed it. When it became heavy for them to live with its commandments, they revolted.(4)

It must be stressed, however, that what is argued more generally is not simply that Jews and Christians have failed to obey the instructions given in their scriptures, but that they have tampered with the contents of their scriptures to change the actual instructions given. This claim

regarding Jews and Christians does not, however, lead to an intolerant attitude toward Judaism and Christianity: despite the fact that one of the four groups held to be unworthy of Allah's mercy on the Night of Power are those who "change Allah's religion".(5)

This teaching about Jews and Christians is not at all unusual in an Islamic context. In Islam these groups are known as the Ahl al-Kitab, People of the Book, to distinguish them from the heathens.(6) Although their scriptures are transmitted in a falsified form, the possession and acceptance of the scriptures puts Jews and Christians in a privileged position above the followers of other religions.(7) This view, of the falsification of Jewish and Christian scriptures, is founded upon the Qur'an: "they say, 'it is from God', yet it is not from God, and they speak falsehood against God, and that wittingly"(3:71).

The Qur'an is also the basis for the more specific contention that part of the alteration made to these previous scriptures is the concealing of certain passages which foretold

the mission of Muhammed and the rise of Islam. In relating stories concerning previous prophets the Qur'an seeks their support for its own message claiming implicitly that the message brought by them and by Muhammed are essentially one and the same.(8) Elements within Jewish and Christian scriptures which would have confirmed this message have been concealed: "Say: 'who sent down the Book that Moses brought as a light and a guidance to men? You put it into parchments, revealing them, and hiding much;'"(Qur'an 6:91). The ultimate outcome of this train of thought is to divorce both Jesus and the Jewish Prophets from their respective religious communities.(9)

The religious literature of Islam recommends tolerance and good behaviour towards Jews and Christians. A Hadith (a tradition about the acts and sayings of Muhammed) says: "He who wrongs a Jew or a Christian will have myself [Muhammed] as his accuser on the Day of Judgement".(10) On texts such as this is based the historical attitude of religious toleration shown by Muslim rulers to their Jewish and Christian subjects.

Historically speaking, the Jews in particular were less well treated in Muhammed's actions than they were in his words.(11) Of the Jewish tribes in Medina at the time of Muhammed's arrival, one was expelled after each of the three battles between the Medinites and the Meccans. After the last of these three battles, the battle of the Trench in 6 A.H., 627-8 A.D., the final Jewish tribe, the Banu Quraisha had all their adult males massacred at the hands of the Muslims.

Despite these incidents, Muhammed instructed Muslims to be tolerant of the People of the Book, and granted them the right to free public worship. After his death, however, this right was restricted to areas outside the Arabian peninsula, where public worship by Jews and Christians was forbidden.(12) Since Muhammed's death relations between Muslims and People of the Book have been generally good, occasional outbreaks of chauvinism notwithstanding.(13) This toleration of religious differences did not, however, exclude the reality of discrimination. In the Islamic state Jews and Christians were seen and treated as second-class citizens.(14)

Despite the Jerrahi contention that there were once many paths to God, it is accepted that now only the path followed by Muhammed leads to this goal.(15) Those who follow any of the other ways will get nowhere.(16) The Way of Muhammed, which is divided into twelve ways associated with twelve groups of Tarikats, is now the only way to Allah. No details are given concerning which are the twelve divisions of the Way of Muhammed, merely that they are tendencies or types of Tarikats, rather than Sufi Orders individually.

The reason for there being a twelve-fold division of the path of Muhammed is given as follows. They exist because people are affected by different things. Some are moved by music, some by beautiful poems, and others by yet other means. So the twelve divisions of the Path exist in order to cater for these personal differences. Such differences between types of tarikats can be used to attract people of different cultural and educational backgrounds. As one source puts it:

When people of different languages, different cultures, different social classes, enter a discipline in great numbers, teachers speaking in different terms at different levels to people of different understandings, have to

explain the same thing in different ways.(17)

The actual journey of the human soul is spoken of in a number of ways by the Jerrahis. The most straightforward of these is given in a public source by Muzaffer Ozak.(18) The beginning of the journey is in the Inconceivable Universe which defies all attempts by human reason to grasp it. It can be known only by Allah as it "defies every hypothesis, delimitation, and qualification...Only God...can know this Universe with the knowledge of His Essence of Oneness".(19) Following this comes the Universe of Souls. From here the souls are brought to the Angelic Universe, and from there to the Universe of Dominion, which is where we now live. After our death we go to the intermediate world known as Barzakh, the World of the Tomb. When we have passed through this intermediate realm we come to the World of Eternity. This point is the completion of the soul's journey. The World of Eternity contains two quite separate spheres which are the permanent resting places of the two classes of people: "the people of Paradise will enter Paradise, while the people of Hell will enter Hell".(20)

This is the outline we are presented with. There is no more detail than this. Apart from the mention of the realms prior to man's existence in this world this picture of a progression from this life through the tomb to Paradise or Hell is a picture found within the mainstream of Islam. But, if we look at our unpublished sources we discover that this picture totally lacks one very important notion. This is the concept of return. We are told that the way the mystic must travel from this world is the Way by which he came into it: "The way one came from the Universe of Oneness to this world of multiplicity is the way by which one must return".(21) The journey can also be referred to in spatial terms. We are told that when man acquires lusts, ambition and arrogance, he is at his lowest point, a point which, "in the circle of evolution" is opposite to the point of Oneness.(22)

It seems reasonable to suggest that the above scheme departs so little from the standard Islamic picture precisely because it appears in a

published source. In contrast, all the other outlines presented below come from unpublished sources. In these, essentially internal documents, leaders of the Order are far more free to speak of the esoteric teachings of the Order. This, in fact, is a common element in the Sufi tradition in Islam, telling the secret teachings of the orders only to those who are initiated, as the general public, it is felt, would only misunderstand these teachings.

A more esoteric understanding of the origin of man and the Universe is given where the creation is divided up into four realms.(23) To begin with, we are told, Allah was in the state of Pure Essence. Nobody other than Allah may understand this realm as it has no attributes or names by which it may be comprehended. There is nothing, no idea which can be said to be like this Pure Essence. This Ocean of Essence moved, and from its waves the first creation and manifestation from the Divine Essence appeared. This movement is said to have been caused by Allah's desire to be known. However, we have also been told that the Pure Essence has no attributes, and thus, surely, it cannot experience

desire. Clearly the Jerrahis have here been caught in the trap familiar to much of speculative Sufism and are tripped up by their desire to say things about matters which they admit language is incapable of conveying. Surely we are not meant to pursue a logical analysis of what is being said to the point of rejecting the teaching on the basis of the objection just raised.

This second realm, the first creation from the Pure Essence contained the first manifestation of Allah, in which His Truth descends from His Essence to His attributes. Also in this realm we may find the mother of all Sacred Books and the Total Soul which contains the soul of all that is to be created. In addition there is the Light of Muhammed, the pre-existing divine spark which is to be imparted by God to the last and greatest of His prophets.

This second realm also moved and gave rise to a third, the realm of spiritual beings. In this realm are to be found the angels and the Jinns, dreams and death. In addition it is the home of the rewards and the justice of Allah, Paradise and Hell. From a movement in this world

was created the world of matter. This is the realm in which we live, the world of suns and stars, minerals, vegetables, animals and man.

We must note the important difference of this scheme from that contained in The Unveiling Of Love. In the four realms just described death and Paradise are between the Divine Essence and living human beings. In this case the passage from life to death is a journey towards Allah, and not further away from Him as appeared in the earlier description. Thus this scheme is in agreement with the Jerrahi teaching that the man of lusts and ambition is at the farthest point from the Divine Essence in the cycle of creation.

It is important, however, to insert some extra comment about these four realms as the way we talk about them may give rise to certain misconceptions. We are explicitly warned by the Jerrahis that "we must not think of the four realms as separate from each other, nor are they created at different times".(24)

The way in which we have spoken of the four realms brings to mind a sequence of events.

This is due to the nature and limitations of the language at our disposal and to the limited understanding possessed by human beings. The creation or emanation of the four realms is one event, not a sequence of separate occurrences. A single command of Allah was sufficient to produce all four realms at once.

The other error we were warned against was seeing the four realms as separate from each other. We talk of them being separate just as we talk of a tree and a cabbage as if they were different things. All four realms evolved from the hidden Essence of Allah, and all the realms visible and invisible to our worldly eyes are merely an extension of that Essence. Equally this is true of the tree and the cabbage: "all existences...come from Allah and return to Allah". (25) But we must not fall into the error of equating these realms with Allah. For they are not Allah, but from Him.

Not only can this be said of the world in which we live and of the four realms, but it is equally true of us. We must understand:

that that which is in us is not different from Him, yet it is not Him;

it is not Him, yet it is from Him. All we see is from Him yet it becomes a hindrance and a veil to hide Him...(26)

This is the true meaning of Unity, Tawhid. Neither the Dervish nor anything else exists. Only Allah exists. Yet creation is not the Creator, it is from Him and it depends upon Him for its existence, but it is not Him. Creation depends upon Allah, but He is eternal, independent, perfect and without need of anything.(27) This manifestation of the Divine is clear in all things, but not every person can see it. Those who see with the eyes of the body and not with the eyes of the heart are denied this great blessing.(28)

Man, in common with other components of the visible creation is made of a combination of two elements.(29) This is the familiar distinction between the flesh and the soul. Our flesh is made from dust and will return to dust after our death. We also possess a soul which is immaterial and eternal and following our deaths this will ascend to whence it came, to Allah.

This division into material and immaterial elements leads on to the last way of

looking at the universe. The hidden world of Soul and the evident, material world are split into separate hierarchies with the same relations to one another and to Allah as the four realms discussed above. That is, each level is created from, and will return to, the level above it, without there being any idea of their creation having been sequential. The fourteen levels of the World of Souls are:

- 1) the Pure Essence,
- 2) the Soul of the Prophet Muhammed,
- 3) the souls of the other chosen Prophets (Jesus, Moses, Abraham, Noah, and Adam among others),
- 4) the Souls of the Messengers of Allah,
- 5) the Souls of the other Prophets,
- 6) the Souls of the Saints who are close to Allah,
- 7) the Souls of those who know Allah,
- 8) the Souls of the Pure Ones,
- 9) the Souls of His Servants who Serve Him,
- 10) the Souls of the Believers,
- 11) the Souls of the World-Bound,
- 12) the Souls of the non-Believers,
- 13) the Souls of animals,
- 14) the Souls of plants. (30)

Corresponding to this hierarchy is the list of things created from the Pure Essence, the fourteen levels of the evident, material world. It will be noticed that some of the things mentioned, for example the Heavens, are not normally visible. The fourteen stages of

material creation are as follows:

- 1) Allah's Throne,
- 2) His Footstool,
- 3) the Seventh Heaven,
- 4) the Sixth Heaven,
- 5) the Fifth Heaven,
- 6) the Fourth Heaven,
- 7) the Third Heaven,
- 8) the Second Heaven,
- 9) the First, lowest Heaven (which contains the galaxies, suns, moons and stars),
- 10) the Four Elements of fire, earth, water and air from combinations of which the remaining four levels were made,
- 11) Minerals,
- 12) Vegetables,
- 13) Animals,
- 14) Man.(31)

This is said to be proved by the fact that the two sets of fourteen, when added together, give twenty eight, which is the number of letters in the Arabic alphabet.(32) Hence creation is a book containing all the names of Allah.

This pair of highly elaborate classifications seems to be an end in itself in that no teaching is derived from it. The lists are given in the sources but no consequences are derived from them. It seems that these elaborate lists are pieces of cosmological speculation which have become too abstract to form the basis of any

practical religious instruction.

Although not commonly found in the strict Islam of the legal schools, the elements outlined above are not unique to the Jerrahis. Though the details may vary many of the ideas which have appeared above may be found elsewhere in Islam.

This is true of what has been said of the Pure Essence of Allah prior to the emanations of the spiritual world. Originally there was, Jami tells us, "a pure unity and a simple potentiality" which contained the essences of all potential existences.(33) Ghazali tells us that at this point Allah was "before time and place was created" and that He remains unaffected by time and place.(34)

Equally Jami agrees with the Jerrahis concerning the belief that there is nothing other than Allah. To hold that there is some entity other than the One Essential Being, he says, is the height of error.(35) There is only the One Real Being who, by giving Himself names and attributes gives the appearance of plurality and

multiplicity. (36)

In addition to such agreement regarding the Pure Essence and the lack of plurality in the Universe, there is also agreement regarding one more important point mentioned above. We saw in the cosmological types outlined above that the first created element in the Universe was the Soul, or Light of Muhammed. This is a common feature in Sufism which sees Muhammed as "the Light of God which existed before the creation of the World". (37)

We should not think that these ideas outlined by the Jerrahis can only be found among the Sufis as they exist also elsewhere within the Islamic community. In the work of Ibn Sina the Universe is seen as emanating from and displaying Allah in the same ways as the rays of light and heat emanate from the Sun. (38) The rays of the Sun are not the Sun, and yet, at the same time, they are nothing other than the Sun. However, despite such similarities it must be recognised that such talk is alien to the main strand in the monotheistic tradition which maintains a strict and absolute distinction between the Creator and

His creation. There the material universe may be seen as a sign of the greatness and majesty of Allah, but no more. (39)

There is also a difference concerning whether or not man's place in the Universe is unique. We have seen in the list of the fourteen levels of the immaterial world that animals and vegetables are both considered to have souls. Yet generally it is considered that the position of man is unique in that only he is both spiritual and material. (40) On the one hand man is made of dust, yet on the other he is superior to the angels though they are purely spiritual beings. Man contains not only dust, but also spirit.

The general notion of the Universe as an emanation from the Pure Essence of Allah is also found elsewhere in Islam. The Ismailis, a group within esoteric Shi'ism, believe that the cosmos came into being from a Universal Intellect, the equivalent of what we have been calling the Pure Essence. (41) This in turn created a principle of animation which was known as the Universal Soul.

In combination with the elements of earth, fire, water and air this led to the formation of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms of the physical world. But the movement was not simply one way. There was a complementary movement in the opposite direction, back to the Universal Intellect. For the Ismailis this journey was to be achieved largely by intellectual means. They sought to reach ever higher levels of rational truth. By means of the Mystic Path, rather than by the Ismailis intellectual endeavour, the Sufis seek to make precisely the same journey.

Before looking at this return journey according to the Jerrahis we should note the similarity of this emanationist understanding of the universe within Islam with the theories of Plotinus. This should not be taken, however, as an argument that these Islamic views were in any way directly derived from those of Plotinus.

Plotinus, who lived during the third century C.E., occupied himself with philosophy only to corroborate his religious and mystical beliefs.(42) Believing that nothing existed apart from the One, he proceeded to attempt to

formulate an understanding of the One by stripping away from it all conceptions and limitations associated with phenomenal existence. This left him with an understanding of the One which could only be spoken of in negative terms. The One was not subject to time, was not located in a place, and so on. This failure of human reason to comprehend the One, the Absolute in positive terms was put down to the unreliability of reason and intellect in these matters. Man should, therefore, disregard his intellect and utilise instead his "intuitive reason" or "spiritual intuition" in religious matters.(43)

If this faculty is used the One can be understood not as a mere negation, but as a "supreme energy of self-manifestation".(44) The first emanation, like the Essence of Oneness of the Jerrahis, contains within itself all being and all thought. These things are not, however, present in forms which would be recognisable to us if we could but see them. Rather they are present in the form of potentialities, it is the potential of all being and thought which is contained in the first emanation. From this came the second emanation, or "World Soul".(45) This

acts as a mediator between the sensible and the supra-sensible worlds. In turn, this World Soul gave rise to all the elements of the observable world: all humans, animals, vegetable and inorganic substances.

Plotinus went on to argue that it was the duty of man to return to the One from whence he came. The Divine Spark which was within each human soul, had a great love for the One and consequently desired to be re-united with it. As the descent of the individual into the material world was marked by acquiring sensual and material elements which attached themselves to the Soul or Divine Spark of the individual, so in the return journey the mystic should separate himself from all sensual and material things. After doing this, and only after the death of the individual, man would be absorbed back into the One. Having said this, however, it must be remembered that deep within the Soul of the individual he has never been anything other than a portion of the One, for this reason Plotinus could speak of the return to integration with the One as the journey "of the Alone to the Alone".(46)

We have seen that for the Jerrahis the return to Allah is essentially by means of travelling the path by which one's soul came from Allah. The practical instructions as to how this return is to be achieved will be given later as they constitute all the Order's teachings on ethics and ritual matters. First let us say something of the nature and stages of this journey.

It can be seen, broadly, as having three stages.(47) The first of these is to understand the nature of one's own lower, or human soul. This shifts and changes its characteristics as it responds to different stimuli. The second of these three stages requires the individual to come to terms with the Relative Total Soul, which is the soul made manifest in the material world around us. At this stage one comes to know the names and attributes of God as it is at this level that they manifest themselves. The final stage is to take "the partial soul within oneself...to pour it into the Relative Total Soul of the conceivable universe and become one with it".(48)

Another way of expressing the idea is to see the Path as a journey away from one's nafs, or lower self.(49) This lower self can be thought of as a hierarchy with the lowest level being occupied by the Dominating Self, al-Nafs al-Ammara. Above this is the Censorious Self, al-Nafs al-Lawwama, which in turn is below the Inspiring Self, al-Nafs al-Mulhima.(50) A leading member of the Order told me that this is as high as one can expect to reach and it is not usual for teaching to mention anything beyond this point. Following the Inspiring Self, however, the upward journey takes us to four further levels: the Tranquil Self, al-Nafs al-Mutma'inna, the Contented Self, al-Nafs al-Radiya, and the Pleasing Self, al-Nafs al-Mardiya, leading finally to the Pure Self, al-Nafs al-Safiya.(51)

The Dominating Self must be overcome before any real progress can be made. It is the Self of the lusts and passions which constantly tempt men to follow those things forbidden to them by God.(52) This is the Self, possessed by unbelievers, rebellious and immoral sinners, which finds the Sacred Law a heavy burden. The dervish path is a constant struggle to overcome this

Dominating Self and move closer to Allah.

To achieve this it is necessary to change one's entire orientation in life. It is possible to live in three different ways, the first oriented towards this world and temporal life, and the second orientated entirely towards the hereafter, the rewards and punishments of Heaven and Hell.(53) These two ways of living are both inferior to the third as: "Both Paradise and this world do not matter to those who wish to meet the Essence of Allah the Most High".(54) Expressed negatively, the best way of living is to serve neither this world nor the next: "Neither this world nor the next should he seek, but God Himself".(55) Elsewhere this injunction is given in more positive terms. This is that one should: "Work and live for this world as if one was never going to die and to work and worship for the hereafter as if one was going to die the next moment".(56) This is the best way, to live as if each day was both your first and your last, The emphasis on working within the world as if one were never going to die brings out the point that although the Sufi Orders are similar in some respects to the Monastic Orders within

Christianity, it must be remembered that a total or substantial withdrawal from the world is not common within the Orders of Islam. Most members of the Sufi Orders needed to maintain a strong connection with this world in order to provide for the material needs of themselves, their spiritual guides and their families.

The advice to work and to worship for the hereafter as if one were at the point of death is, in essence, the point expressed by the notable female Sufi, Rabia, in her famous prayer:

O God! whatever share of this world Thou hast allotted to me, bestow it on Thine enemies;
and whatever share of the next world Thou hast allotted to me, bestow it on Thy friends. Thou art enough for me. (57)

And again:

O God! If I worship Thee in fear of Hell, burn me in Hell; and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, withhold not Thine everlasting beauty. (58)

This other-worldly, spiritual orientation to life is important, I was told, because all the purely sensual pleasures are unsatisfying. (59) Whether the attractions of this world are sampled in the form of food, drink

or sexual pleasures there comes a time when the individual has had enough. One would even tire of one's favourite food were one to eat it often enough. With spiritual matters, however, one is never satisfied. The individual's thirst for God is only increased by his experience of God, whereas his thirst for water diminishes when water is available.

Those who are still totally under the power of their lower self, the power of the Dominating Self, cannot understand this. Only those who have left their Dominating Selves behind are not fooled by the attractions of the material world.(60) For the love of this world actually prevents a proper valuation of the next: "When this world settles into a heart the next world emigrates out of it".(61)

It is possible for the Dervish to correct himself if he tends to have too much love for this world. The Jerrahis repeat the story of one suffering from the "greatest of all sicknesses", the sickness of the love of the world.(62) The sufferer took his problem to Abu Darda, one of the Companions of Muhammed, to ask

for his advice. The advice he received was to: "visit the sick. Go to funeral services. Walk in the graveyards".(63) If the sufferer followed these three prescriptions often enough he would be cured of his love of this world. The purpose of these three acts is to remind the dervish that he is "in exile in this world,(64) and that when he visits the graveyard he is visiting his final destination.(65)

At its most succinct what the dervish is trying to achieve is to die before his death. Dying before death means that although the individual is in this world, yet it is lost to him.(69) The world has no place in the hearts of such men, they are in the world, they realise, only to serve God.

In order to climb above the lower, Dominating Self and then through successive stages towards God, the dervish must put himself in opposition to his Self, to his Nafs.(67) In thus opposing his Nafs the dervish will cleanse his heart to reveal the reflection of the Divine within him, and come to know his true self.(68) Opposing the nafs is "the most excellent

work". (69)

This opposition must go beyond denying the nafs those things which it wants to the point when one no longer wants anything. One simply accepts whatever happens to you as being the will of Allah. It is God's pleasure which is paramount, not that of the dervish. (70)

Both a positive and a negative strategy are suggested to enable the dervish to overcome his nafs. Positively, one is recommended to attempt to overcome the nafs by keeping it occupied: "nothing will give you a greater advantage over your nafs than to occupy it at every moment with what is worthier for it". (71) The more negative strategy is simply to refuse to give in to the nafs. If you decline to give the nafs what it currently wants it will continue to want it, whereas if you do allow the nafs whatever it desires, rather than being satisfied it will go on to want something else. (72) In this struggle against the nafs constant watchfulness is essential, and the dervish is advised to set aside some time "from afternoon to evening" to examine how well he is doing in the struggle, in the hope

that such a daily assessment will spur him on to greater efforts where they are needed.(73)

Although the constant efforts of the dervish are essential, the dervish can achieve nothing by his own efforts. This is a paradox which is central to the Sufi path. Although one must strive to the best of one's ability, yet any advancement comes as a result not of your own struggle, but of God's bounty and grace. Success is from Allah alone. The dervish can only escape from his lowest self if he receives:

a light from the Universe of the Souls,
the light of knowledge and
ecstasy...then his heart becomes the
sharer of the mysteries of Truth.(74)

The paradox is heightened when we learn that the level an individual is to attain is predestined.(75) Man is created with a particular potential to reach a certain spiritual level. However to "deserve" this state he must pass through the "tests" of earthly life. If he is successful in his struggles against the material temptations of the world, then he will reach the State for which he has the potential. If not then he will be left on the Way.(76) However, as God is all powerful, and all knowing so it will be equally predestined whether the

individual will achieve his potential or not. This paradox must simply be accepted by the believer as it cannot be resolved. It is simply an example of the unfathomable nature of the ways of Allah.

The dervish is advised, despite the importance of the struggle against the nafs, to avoid extremes in this matter.(77) If one's efforts are exaggerated, then one will tire of the struggle and become disillusioned. One must guard against this as it is most important that the struggle continue until the very end of one's life. If one feels an excess of boredom, stress or fatigue in the struggle, then it is advisable to feed the nafs a little, but only with "that which is lawful".(78) This, it is argued, will increase the desire to continue with the struggle. This is an important concession to the human condition. The human follower of the Sufi Path is not expected to be a super-human figure, stress, boredom and fatigue are recognised and allowances made.

Man, it is claimed, is free to choose either to oppose his nafs and draw closer to

Allah, or to serve his lower self and occupy his time with the affairs of this world.(79) It will be recognised that this does not fit logically with the earlier assertion that man's capacity to attain higher spiritual states is predestined. The ability of man to choose to oppose or serve the nafs, to choose between good and evil, is explained in mythological terms. Like Adam, mankind may choose between good and evil because they were made by the two hands of Allah.(80) This contrasts with the rest of creation which was formed by Allah with one hand only.

If great difficulty is experienced in the struggle against the nafs, however, and the dervish feels that he cannot successfully educate his lower self on his own, then help is at hand.(81) In such circumstances one must go to a sheikh, a spiritual guide, in the hope that he will take over, and and train your nafs for you. We shall return to this in the next chapter.

To talk of the Path in terms of educating your nafs to do what is good and right, and resisting one's desires and temptations to do what is wrong, could lead to seeing the Way of the

Dervish as nothing more than a means of personal growth. While it is true that being a dervish is thought to bring certain benefits in terms of making one more accepting of his lot in this world, and avoiding the dangers associated with excessive materialism, Sufism is not merely a means of becoming a better and more tranquil person. The object of the exercise is not "to find out the value of oneself, this work is to find God".(82) Not only does this reminder stress that Sufism is more than a form of therapy, it also advises against spiritual pride in the individual's accomplishments on the Path: "There is a great difference between someone who wishes to achieve a station, whether in this world or the hereafter, and the one who only wishes to please God".(83)

Essentially there are five states necessary to the spiritual development of the Jerrahi dervish.(84) The first of these is Repentance.(85) Repentance itself has four stages: a) consciousness and knowledge of the Shari'a (Sacred Law), b) regret, c) using the Will in order to cease doing those things which one regrets and resolve never to do them again, d)

attempting to erase the stain on one's character caused by one's past misdeeds by performing the good deeds which correspond to them. (86)

The second state is Submission. This is central to the religion of all Muslims as witnessed by the fact that the Arabic word for submission is "Islam". Submission requires that the dervish should give up his own will in favour of the greater Will of Allah.

After achieving these first two elements one becomes a Pure Being (Zahid). This is a person who has rid himself of his past sins through repentance and who is no longer capable of sinning having given up his own will in order to be directed by the Will of Allah. This is the third state, Purification. It is only at this stage, we are told, that one becomes a true servant of Allah. (87)

The fourth state is the Love and Fear of Allah. The true servant of Allah loves his Lord, and in turn is loved by Him. The fear arises out of a constant concern on behalf of the servant that he is not worthy of the love of his Lord.

In this state one does whatever God wishes, unconditionally and with great pleasure.

The fifth and final state is one of peace, blessing, and a total satisfaction with one's lot. At this point the believer's faith and trust in Allah is total and whatever comes to the dervish from God is accepted and held to be good and beautiful. As everything comes from Allah, so it follows that everything must be good and beautiful. There are no more dualities or contradictions for one realises that everything is One. This is the stage where "Allah is satisfied with His servant, and His servant is satisfied with Him".(88)

At this point it may be noted that the scheme set out by the Jerrahis is remarkably simple by Sufi standards. The Jerrahis list five stages and divide the lower self, nafs, into a similarly small number. In some other sufi orders the list of stages is considerably longer. Al-Qushairi, for example, gives a list of forty five stages in his Risala:(89) 1) Conversion, 2) a collateral form of the Holy War or earnest striving after the Sufi Path, 3) solitariness and

withdrawal, 4) awe of God, 5) abstaining (from unnecessary and unseemly occupations), 6) renunciation (even of permitted pleasures), 7) silence, 8) fear, 9) hope, 10) sorrow (for past sins), 11) hunger and denial of appetite, 12) fearfulness and humility, 13) opposition to the carnal soul while remembering its vices, 14) contentment, 15) trust in God, 16) thankfulness, 17) firm faith, 18) patience, 19) constant awareness of God, 20) satisfaction, 21) servanthood, 22) desire, 23) uprightness, 24) sincerity, 25) truthfulness, 26) shame, 27) magnanimity, 28) remembrance, 29) chivalrousness, 30) insight, 31) moral character, 32) generosity, 33) jealousy, 34) being in God's protection or Sainthood, 35) prayer, 36) poverty, 37) purity, 38) decent manners, 39) travel as being more meritorious than living one's life all in one place, 40) companionship, 41) true belief in one God, 42) noble dying, 43) gnosis, 44) love, 45) yearning always to be with God. This particular scheme is far from being the most complex that could have been quoted. Yet it does serve to point up just how comparatively short and simple the Jerrahi scheme is.

The end of the Sufi Path is to reach the stage of fana: "to erase oneself before Allah by detaching oneself from the world".(90) Fana is bestowed upon the dervish by God, and has four successive stages.(91) These are the degree of Annihilation in the Sheikh, Annihilation in the Founding Saint of the Order, Annihilation in the Messenger, and, finally, Annihilation in God. For the present-day Jerrahis, for example, the progression would go from Annihilation in the Sheikh, Sefer Baba, to Annihilation in Nureddin Jerrahi, the founding Saint of the Order, to Annihilation in the Prophet Muhammed, to Annihilation in Allah. Those who reach the stage of Annihilation, or losing themselves, in Allah, are those who can view the world and Allah separately and yet, at the same time, as One. They have detected the Divine Spark, the "secret of all existences within themselves", and have realised that they are nothing other than Allah.(92)

Each degree of Annihilation is more beautiful than the rest, and yet each is in itself so beautiful that there is a danger that the peace of rest will be mistaken for the final

destination.(93) The best way to avoid this error is to ascend to one's destination so that one knows what it looks like prior to actually arriving there. This is possible for the dervish, not bodily but spiritually, and this is the meaning of dying before one's death.(94) Neither my informants nor the written sources at my disposal could be more explicit as to what this actually means or how it is to be achieved in practice.

Passing away, emptying oneself into Allah is not quite the end, however. After one becomes 'nothing' one "becomes again".(95) The traveller on the Path reaches the end and finds himself back where he started. What this actually means in detail is difficult to say. It does serve to point out, however, that Fana is not the same thing as the total destruction of the individual. After Passing Away there is still part of me which persists, that part of me which is not I, but Allah. The Divine Spark within 'Me' which is the real 'I' which is none other than Allah.

Those familiar with Indian religious

traditions will have been struck by the similarity between Fana and Moksa and Nirvana. Moksa is derived from a Sanskrit root with the meaning of "to let go", "discharge" or "release".(96) In religious matters, however, it has the technical meaning of man's "deliverance", "emancipation", "liberty" or "release". This has both a negative and a positive side. Negatively it means having freed oneself from or rid oneself of the world and its trappings. More positively it refers to the general sense of calm, security and well-being experienced by the person who has so freed himself from the world. These two aspects of the concept cannot be separated, but must be held in the mind simultaneously. In Vedanta literature Moksa is intellectually understood as the ability to discern the essential identity between the Absolute, Brahman or Atman, and the soul located within man. Essentially the same as the understanding of Fana, the realisation that within 'Me' there is an 'I' which is none other than 'He'. Emotionally this finds expression in the sense of calm mentioned earlier. When the individual reaches Moksa he participates in the negatively formulated attributes of the Absolute: He is unlimited, unsuffering and imperishable.

Nirvana, which etymologically has the meaning of ""Blowing out or cooling", is the central theme in the teachings of the Buddha and the *raison d'être* of Buddhism.(97) Nirvana is liberation from this world, from the cycle of death and re-birth, and from the suffering which necessarily accompanies such cycles. There is no need to devote time to deciding exactly what Nirvana is as this is a matter which does not overly concern the Buddhist: "Our job is to study what Nirvana may be; the job of a Buddhist is to reach Nirvana - a very different thing".(98) It is possible, however, for us to see nirvana as the "'brief period of bliss' enjoyed by the man who has liberated himself from desire".(99)

Fana is very similar to both Nirvana and Moksa, then, as all three represent the state of the individual who has freed himself from all attachment to the world. There is one important difference, however, which must be kept in mind. With Moksa and Nirvana both of these are states which may be achieved by the individual. For fana, on the other hand, it is important for the

individual to work towards the state but, as we have seen, the state itself is in the gift of Allah and may not be achieved purely by human efforts.

To conclude our theoretical discussion of the Mystic Path we may look at one important Jerrahi document which presents the story of a traveller, moving through the kingdoms of the lower self in search of a Doctor of Souls.(100) When I visited the Jerrahis in 1985 there was a certain amount of excitement concerning this allegory. It had been found in manuscript form, in the Ottoman script, in an Istanbul library. Sheikh Sefer Baba, who made the discovery, took a copy which was in turn translated into English by Sheikh Tosun Bayrak for the benefit of the American dervishes. Originally the document was written by a (supposedly) unlettered Naqshbendi in the Nineteenth Century. It is used here, though it was not written either by or for a Jerrahi, because it has been adopted by the Jerrahis who held it in high esteem. The tale is set in a land consisting of a series of cities, set one within the other, each representing a portion of the lower self. In common with the Jerrahis the

author of the manuscript will not discuss the later stages, the higher souls, holding that his audience will be unable to comprehend him even if he should be able to find words with which to describe these later stages.

As our traveller was wandering in this temporal world, in a state between sleep and waking, he came upon a city which was all in darkness. The city, which contained everything that had been created, was so vast that the traveller could neither see nor conceive of its limits. There were, in this city, people of all races, and all the sins known to man. At the centre of this city, however, the traveller could just discern another city, separated from the one in which he stood by high walls and heavy, locked gates.

What he saw around him led our traveller to surmise that never since the beginning of time had any light fallen upon this city. Not only were the sky and the roads and houses completely shrouded in darkness, but the minds and hearts of the citizens were equally as dark as night.

They killed each other and were obsessed by lust and anger. Their only pleasures were in drinking and in shameless sex: "without discrimination of male and female, wives and husbands or others". (101) They were totally unconcerned with the feelings of others and their customs were cheating, gossiping, slander and theft. Despite the fact that some in that city called themselves Muslims there was no fear of Allah in that city.

Some of the citizens did become aware of Allah's commandments and attempted to act upon them. If they were successful, however, the result was that they could no longer bear to associate with their fellow citizens. Our traveller heard that such people as these took refuge within the walled city he had noticed in the middle of the dark city.

On finding a citizen who could understand him, our traveller enquired about the city. He learned that the city was called Ammara. (It will be recalled that the lowest self was called al-Nafs al-Ammara). It was the city of freedom, where everyone did as they

pleased. The ruler of the city was called His Highness Cleverness, an astrologer, engineer, doctor, sorcerer, and a learned king who was without equal in this world. The advisers of the king were called logic, his judges depended upon common sense, and his stewards were called Daydreaming and Imagination. All the citizens, the traveller learned, were totally loyal to the king.

In order to be rich and famous our traveller desired to learn all the sciences of the world of which the king was the perfect exponent.

So he stayed for some time in the service of the king, learning these sciences, until he himself became world-renowned. As a result of this people began to talk of the traveller and to point him out to one another in the street. At this the traveller's ego rejoiced.

At times our traveller had the feeling that there was something wrong in this. However he had no power to change his way of life at this stage. Finally our traveller wished to leave this city of darkness so he went to His Highness Cleverness and asked how it was that the wise men

of the kingdom never acted on their knowledge and feared Allah. The king answered that he was the ideal of the men in the city due to his ability to derive personal benefit from the world. The king went on to admit that he himself had a master, the Devil. None in the city of freedom, the king explained, ever desired to change.

On hearing this the traveller earnestly wished to leave the city. He asked for the permission of the king. The king granted him permission saying that he ruled over the next city also. The next city was the City of Self-Reproach. Its citizens, the king continued, were not the same as those of the dark city of freedom. In the city of freedom the Devil was the idol of the citizens and none regretted or were chastised for anything they did. In the City of Self-Reproach, however, the citizens also sinned, they committed adultery and satisfied their lusts with "men or women alike", but often they saw what they were doing and felt regret.

As soon as his audience with the king was over the traveller rushed to the gates of this second city, the City of Self-Reproach. Above

the gate of the city was the motto: "The one who has repented is like the one who has never committed a sin".(102) After giving the pass-word by repenting for his sins the traveller entered the city

This city was considerably less crowded than the former one. The traveller learned that there was in this city a wise man who knew and expounded the Qur'an and so he went to study with him. He asked him the name of the ruler of the city in order to check the information already supplied by His Highness Cleverness. The man confirmed that they were indeed under the jurisdiction of His Highness Cleverness but that they had their own administrators whose names were Arrogance, Hypocrisy, Bigotry and Fanaticism.

Among the citizens of the City of Self-Reproach, the traveller was told, there were many knowledgeable men, men who appeared to be virtuous, pious and righteous. It was with these people that the traveller made friends. He found them to be afflicted with envy, egotism and insincerity. In a more positive light he could say of these men that they "prayed and tried to

follow Allah's commandments because they feared Allah's punishment and Hell, and hoped for an eternal, pleasurable life in Paradise".(103)

He complained to his new found friends about the people he had met in the City of Darkness. He agreed that the city was filled with drunkards, adulterers and pederasts. However, from time to time, by some mysterious guidance, some citizens of the City of Darkness were led to the City of Self-Reproach where they realised their former faults and asked for forgiveness.

The traveller noticed that in the centre of the City of Self-Reproach there was yet another city. On enquiring, he learned that this city was called Mulhima, the City of Love and Inspiration. The ruler of this third city, he learned, was called His Highness Wisdom, a knower of Allah, whose Prime Minister was called Love. Anyone who travels to that city becomes like all its other inhabitants, totally attached to that Prime Minister. They come to be ready to do anything for the sake of that Prime Minister called Love.

He also learned of a rumour that the people of the third city called upon Allah constantly, chanting and singing, at times with the accompaniment of drums and tambourines, and that while doing so they often lose their senses and go into ecstasy. He was further informed that the religious leaders of the City of Self-Reproach found such behaviour unacceptable according to their orthodox rules.

When he heard this our traveller left his friends in the City of Self-Reproach and ran to the gates of the City of Love and Inspiration. He recited aloud the sacred formula, "there is no God but Allah", and prostrated himself, offering his sincere thankfulness. At this the gates swung open and our traveller entered the third city.

Once inside the city the traveller soon found himself at a dervish lodge where the poor and the rich mingled together "as if one single being".(104) These dervishes loved one another and spent their time serving one another and talking and singing about Allah and the Hereafter.

They were already removed from pain and anxiety, as if they were already living in Paradise. There was no envy, gossip or intrigue in this dervish meeting and the traveller felt immediately at peace among the dervishes.

Among them the traveller saw an old man to whom he introduced himself. He told the old man that he was suffering from the sickness of darkness and unconsciousness, and hoped the old man could advise him where to find someone to assist in his recovery. The old man told the traveller that his name was Guidance, and that his duty was to guide all who sought it to the road to union with Allah. He told the traveller that within the City of Love and Inspiration there were four districts, one within the other. The outer district was called Muqallid, the district of the imitators, although many in that district could be found who claimed to be doctors of the heart, declaring themselves to be wise men while attempting to hide their ignorance and lack of character. These men sought fame and were ambitious for the world. Despite their claims, these people were full of the sickness of themselves, and were masters of nothing other than

imitation.

These men are expert at hiding their duplicity. But although they appear to be pronouncing the prayers and the names of Allah, their minds do not permit them to see the benefit of their prayers. So the old man advised the traveller to leave this outer district of Imitation and go to the district known as Mujahid, the district of Warriors.

The traveller followed this advice and went to the district of Warriors where he found the people to be weak and thin, gentle and thoughtful, devoted to praying, fasting and meditation. He got close to these people and found that they had left behind the failures of character which are produced by egoism and unconsciousness. They were content to be servants of Allah.

The traveller stayed with these people for many years. He lived with them and behaved as they did, not letting a single moment pass in heedlessness. He too learned patience here, and came to be content and satisfied with his lot.

After this sojourn the traveller was advised to move on towards the City of Peace and Tranquility which was in the centre of the City of Love and Inspiration. This would take him to the third quarter of the latter city, known as the district of supplication and meditation.

The inhabitants of this district were found to be quiet and peaceful, remembering Allah and reciting the names of Allah inwardly. Their hearts shone as they stood in humility and veneration in the presence of their Lord. They were gentle and courteous, hardly speaking lest their words distracted the attention of another inhabitant of that district from the One in whose presence they all felt themselves to be. All alike feared to be a burden to others. The traveller remained in this district for many years until he thought as the inhabitants did. He then thought he was finally cured of his sickness of heedlessness, polytheism and unconsciousness. But still he was not cured of the hidden dualism where he imagined there to be two existences, an 'I' and a 'He'.

On realising this the traveller fell into a state where he felt himself to be surrounded by an ocean of sadness. The only solution he could find to this sadness was to die, but this he could not do as he no longer had a Will, not even to die. But his situation was not one of unmitigated sadness for he was "helpless, sad, in ecstasy".(105)

At this point the traveller again met with the old man called Guidance who looked upon him with compassion and said:

O poor slave of himself, in exile in this foreign land!...You cannot find your cure in this state of spirit. Go to that district yonder, just next to the gate of the castle of Peace and Tranquility...The name of that quarter is fana - self-annihilation. There you will find doctors...(106)

Immediately the traveller went on to this district where he saw the population to be mute, as if dead, with no strength within them, not even to speak. They had given up all hope of deriving benefit from speech and were ready to surrender their souls to the Angel of Death. They were not concerned whether the traveller was there or not. No action could be observed in that district except for the performance of prayers which the inhabitants did five times a

day. The people were not preoccupied with any thought, and no longer thought in terms of a separation between this world and the Hereafter. They neither talked nor acted because they no longer experienced any needs or desires.

The traveller remained with these people for many years, but even among them in that place he experienced great pain. However, when he wished to describe his symptoms he found that he could not locate any body or existence so that he could indicate it and say "This is me".(107) At this point the traveller realised that the thing which he had called "me" had turned into the owner of "me", he realised that to describe any being as his was a lie. To ask the real owner, Allah, for that which the traveller called "mine", he realised, was the hidden polytheism from which he had been suffering.

The traveller's sorrow attracted the pity of the Angel of Inspiration, and with the permission of Allah this angel came and recited to the traveller the phrase: "First annihilate your actions".(108) The angel presented this to the traveller as a gift, but as the traveller

stretched out his hand to receive it he saw that there was no hand, only a mixture of water, earth, ether and fire. The traveller had no hand with which to take and no power to act. Whatever action occurred through him, he realised, belonged not to him but to the Absolute Actor. At this point the traveller warns us that: "it is not possible to express such states so that others can appreciate or even imagine them".(109)

Having thus rid himself of his actions the traveller wished, with the permission and aid of Allah, to annihilate his attributes, those qualities which make up the individual personality. When the traveller looked at these, what he saw was not his. He was helpless, totally cut off from all the visible and invisible attributes which had formerly distinguished the traveller from others and from Allah.

With all his feeling and being the traveller thought himself to be a pure essence. But then he sensed that this too was duality. What relation does he have, he wondered, to something which does not belong to him.

At this point even the traveller's essence was taken from him. But still he wished and longed for Allah. Helplessly he hoped for union with Allah. He wished to achieve the great state of dying before death. But even this longing was a form of duality as it assumed a duality between the traveller and the One he longed for. So the traveller gave up all these desires also. Helplessly he waited at the gate of acquiescence without thought or feeling, as if dead, and expecting death to take him at any moment. For a long time the traveller remained in that state.

He asked his heart to instruct him. It said: "As long as there is a trace of you in you, you cannot hear your Lord's call... 'Come to Me'". (110) The traveller understood this to be truth and wished that that trace of him which was left would die. He immersed that trace of himself in divine beatitude. At this he experienced a sensation of ecstasy: "from me, to me, over that which was mine, covering it all, the taste of which is impossible to describe". (111) He heard the divine invitation, without ears, words or letters.

The traveller tried to think what this state was but his thoughts were unable to think of it. He was made to understand that it was impossible to think about such sacred secrets, but even this knowledge was taken from him as quickly as it had come.

At this point on the very threshold of total fana, words simply fail the writer of our allegory.

MYSTICAL THOUGHT

Following the outline of Jerrahi teaching on the Mystic Path presented above it is now appropriate to consider whether that teaching is 'mystical' in any generally recognisable sense. What kind of experience is mystical experience? And what kind of language is mystical language?

The first problem is the familiar one of definition. (112) Mysticism is a word that has been used to refer to such a great variety of movements and modes of thought in so many

different circumstances that the reader could be forgiven for wondering whether all those who have used the word were indeed speaking of the same thing. (113)

Two eminent and percipient students of mysticism have endeavoured to clear up some of the confusion by pointing to elements that must always be present in a system of thought if it is rightly to deserve the name mysticism. According to Evelyn Underhill the first of these essentials is that the individual must be convinced of the existence of a living God who is the central focus of the believer's consciousness. (114) Also, the believer, to be a mystic, must see his Self, his own personal Being, as capable of achieving some communion with God. (115) More specifically, this communion must be understood in a personal sense, that is it must be seen as communion with "a living Reality, an object of love, capable of response...". (116)

Margaret Smith provides a similar discussion of the term. (117) She lays stress on

the esoteric nature of mysticism, on the fact that the mystic is one who has been initiated into secret knowledge of the Divine. Equally the mystic was one who had closed, or was closing, his mind to the exoteric world around him and allowing his mind to withdraw more and more into itself in the hope of receiving understanding from the Divine.(118) The mystic seeks to pass away from mere phenomena to become "Being itself".(119)

Mysticism carries with it the assumption that man is a partaker, in some sense, of the Divine nature, as without this participation man cannot hope to come to know the Divine. But it is also stressed in mysticism that man cannot attain to this knowledge of the Divine unless he manages to purify himself from his Self. The guide on the upward journey of the mystic towards knowledge of and union with the Divine is love, with the goal being thought of as the Beloved.(120)

With these basic elements it will be possible to propose a basic working definition of mysticism which will allow us to decide whether the material provided by the Jerrahis is in fact

mystical. The mystic is convinced that there is a living God who is capable of being loved, and of responding to that love. By purification of the Self, mysticism contends, man can attain to a knowledge of God, and that the individual is already a partaker, to some extent, of the Divine nature. This may serve as a basic list of the elements which must be present before the phenomenon in question may reasonably be called mysticism. It must be stressed, however, that this is merely a tentative and working definition and that a degree of flexibility may well be required in its application.

We have seen that the Jerrahis do, in fact, believe in a God who is both worthy and capable of love. We have also noted their contention that man partakes in some measure of the nature of the Divine having within himself an element, a Divine spark, which is not human, but which is pure Being of the same nature as Allah. True, this element is not immediately apparent being covered with the veils of human attributes and the stains of sin and weakness, but it is there nevertheless. It would thus seem both reasonable and legitimate to regard the Jerrahi

teaching as a type of mysticism.

It is important, having said this, to remind ourselves that there are some things which mysticism is not. It is not to be equated with a pantheistic adoration of nature, as was mentioned above. While it is true that God is within everything, and while nature may serve as a proclamation of the Divine majesty, the enraptured adoration of nature does not in itself amount to mysticism.(121) Mysticism is rather the communion of the individual with the interior soul than the adoration by the individual of the external universe. Secondly, although there are often pronounced devotional elements in mysticism, mystical religion cannot simply be associated with 'Bhakti' religion.(122) As we have noted above, mysticism must also possess the conviction that it is possible to achieve union with the Divine by a process of self-negation. Finally, it is important to recognise that mysticism is not simply a philosophical system.(123) True, mysticism has its own understanding of the scheme of things, but mysticism seeks to go beyond the exercise of reason and logic to attain to a direct knowledge and experience of God.

In stressing the fact that mysticism is not simply a philosophical system, however, we must not be confused into talking about mysticism as if it were a species of poetry or artistic impression. In speaking of Plotinus we saw that he placed important emphasis on the use of intuition. Intuition here is used to refer to the process whereby knowledge is acquired without the use of normal logical procedures.(124) This faculty of intuition, if it may be spoken of in this way, is a common theme in mysticism. It is the process whereby knowledge comes to the individual without being mediated by steps in a logical argument or by the senses of the individual concerned.(125) Although the knowledge most prized by the mystic is gained by means of intuition, it is nevertheless knowledge. So we must remember that although mysticism may not be a philosophical system as such, it is nonetheless a means by which the individual may be said to know things.

It may well be claimed that the Jerrahi teaching presented above is but a pale shadow when considered alongside the works of al-Ghazali or

Ibn Al-Arabi. But we must not be led on from this to the assumption that this means there is no 'mysticism' as such in the Sufi Orders. As we have seen, the Jerrahi teaching does fit into our working definition of what mysticism is. It is as unreasonable to expect all mystical teaching to be of the quality of the writings of al-Ghazali as it is unreasonable to expect all painting to be of the quality of that produced by Picasso. To claim that only Picasso was really a painter is too elitist. The teachings and experience of the members of the Sufi Orders cannot be discounted as mysticism in this way. As John Hick suggested in "Mystical Experience As Cognition", the ordinary believer does possess "some at least remote echo within his own experience of the much more momentous experience of the great religious figures".(126)

On a number of occasions while describing the Jerrahi teaching on the Mystic Path we have noticed that they feel some elements in the teaching to be unexplainable and inexpressible. Professor Ninian Smart has noted that this is a frequent if not universal claim in the writings of mystics.(127) Such claims,

however, are not restricted to mystics. As Renford Bambrough points out:

Plato wrote what is now printed as five volumes of closely argued Greek in the Oxford Classical Texts series, including his conclusion that the most important thoughts are inexpressible in writing. (128)

If this were all the mystics said of their teachings then the study of mysticism would be a barren and uninviting field, for as Smart puts it: "in the absolutely unutterable there is nothing worth discussing". (129)

Given their conviction that some of their intuitively gained knowledge is inexpressible why then, it may reasonably be asked, do the mystics speak of their knowledge at all? Partly at least to alert others to the general nature of the experience in order that the reader or listener may recognise the situation for what it is when he finally experiences it for himself. (130) In terms of the Sufi Orders, the sheikh or founder of an Order will write of his mystical experiences and of his understanding in order both that his followers will have some conception, however limited, of the nature of the goal of their quest, and in order that if or when

such experiences come to the follower he will recognise them from the writings of his sheikh and be able to interpret them and respond to them in an appropriate manner.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE

Anyone who wishes to follow the mystic path and strive to attain union with Allah is going to need assistance from one with greater spiritual maturity and understanding than he presently possesses. Every dervish is encouraged therefore to find a sheikh, a spiritual guide, who is willing to assist his development.

A spiritual guide will be of immeasurable benefit to the dervish, for in the presence of a true spiritual guide the nafs of the individual will hide, that is it will defer and be less assertive, thus enabling the Jerrahi to gain mastery of it.(1) The best guide for the dervish is one who will "see your faults and misgivings but tries to bring you, as you are, to the truth".(2) If the dervish finds such a guide who is willing to accept him as a follower, it is as though God and the Prophet Muhammed has accepted him as a seeker on the mystic path, but should the

aspirant be rejected by his chosen guide he must understand this as being a rejection, whether temporary or permanent only time will tell, by Allah and Muhammed.(3) Having once been accepted by a guide, however, the novice dervish must consider his sheikh to be "the greatest of all men", and must at all costs avoid believing that there exists some other guide from whom greater assistance might be obtained.(4)

Having found his spiritual guide, and those reading the teachings presented below will have found their guide from among the Jerrahi sheikhs, the dervish must consider that all he has, including his wealth and his family, belong entirely to his guide.(5) When presenting a gift to his sheikh, however, the dervish must take care not to do so publicly, but should have his offering taken to the sheikh by an individual in the sheikh's service.(6) Formerly when dervishes tended to live within a short distance of the home of their guide such gifts would be presented through a domestic servant of the sheikh. Today gifts tend to be given at the tekke during a meeting and are carried to the sheikh by one of his khalifes. The proffered gifts, usually

cigarettes or lokum [Turkish Delight], are then offered in turn to all those sitting with the sheikh in order that it might be enjoyed by the community as a whole.

Such devotion and generosity to the spiritual guide is of benefit not only in this world, where the sheikh may be relied upon to advise on spiritual, moral and mundane matters of concern to the believer, but also in the grave. Islam teaches that once the individual is in his grave he is questioned by two angels, Munkar and Nakir (Turkish: Munker or Munkir and Nekir), who endeavour to ascertain the spiritual and moral status of the individual prior to the final accounting on the Day of Resurrection. When the Jerrahi is subjected to this examination his sheikh will be with him, prompting and advising which responses should be given.(7) In death, as in life, the sheikh is not only a guide towards Allah but a defender against the evil tricks and deceptions of Satan.

A Jerrahi should visit his sheikh often, at the very least once a week.(8) For Jerrahis in the United States, where the community is

dispersed widely across the country and there is only one sheikh, based in New York, dervishes are advised to keep in touch with their guide through regular letters rather than actual visits.(9) Regardless of the frequency of such personal visits or letters the dervish should always be conscious of his sheikh.(10) In the absence of the sheikh the Jerrahi must observe the same ritual and ethical teachings as he would if the sheikh were present, for the sheikh is capable of knowing what is unknown to normal men, which includes an understanding of those things the dervish keeps hidden in his heart. The Jerrahi who fails in this duty and forgets his sheikh, if only for a split second, will not be accepted as a sincere seeker of the Truth.(11)

If the Jerrahi can avoid forgetting his guide, and can subjugate his nafs to the sheikh to the extent that he "forgets himself", he will have achieved the first great stage on the mystic path, that of passing away [Fana] or annihilation in the sheikh. For in forgetting himself while being ever mindful of his sheikh the Jerrahi resolves the duality of dervish and guide and is aware only of the guide. He is no longer conscious of his

own existence and his own desires, but is concerned only with the requests and instructions of his guide. (12)

This is the first great goal of the path, but for many it will remain unattainable. This was recognised explicitly by the sheikhs and Khalifes I spoke to. Yet the attitudes and virtues which must be developed before attaining this goal are held to be spiritually valuable and desirable themselves. These include the dervish being required to have total honesty towards his sheikh, and total trust and obedience in him. These, I was told, are the prerequisites of the first stage of annihilation, annihilation in the sheikh.

The Jerrahi is required to be totally honest with his sheikh, seeking to hide nothing from him. If he should oppose his sheikh's wishes, for whatever reason and for however short an interval, he must openly confess this to his sheikh at the first opportunity and accept whatever punishment or retribution his sheikh sees fit. (13) Such punishments will normally consist only in the performance of a certain number of

voluntary prayers or the performance of some service to the order as a whole. This required honesty is not for the benefit of the sheikh, but of the dervish. The sheikh has no need of the believer's confession as he has the ability to see those things which are hidden. This need for honesty can be accounted for by the old adage: "confession is good for the soul". In admitting his faults and doubts the Jerrahi is recognising his own imperfections, and in confessing these to his sheikh he is implicitly recognising the latter's ability to assist him in rectifying them, for, as I was told by a leading member of the order, to ask anything, whether it be from man or God, is to acknowledge the ability of the one who is asked to supply that which is asked for.

Unlike the requirement of total obedience, the honesty required of the Jerrahi dervish is to be reciprocated in part by his sheikh. The reciprocation is only partial as the sheikh is not required to be totally honest in every regard, as is the dervish. The sheikh must, however, not pretend that he does not see the faults of the dervish.(14) To do so is regarded as spending a part of Allah's forgiveness

in order to make the lot of the dervish a little easier. It is the duty of the sheikh to draw attention to the failings of the dervish in order that the dervish might strive to make good his deficiencies. To this extent the honesty of the sheikh as regards the dervish might be regarded as brutal, rather than total.

The Jerrahi is expected to show total obedience to his sheikh. He should "follow his teacher's orders without fail and with joy".(15) To be able and allowed to serve the spiritual guide in some way should be regarded by the Jerrahi as a privilege and a blessing.(16) The dervish's obedience to, and faith in his sheikh is regarded as a sign that the dervish has established a satisfactory relationship with Allah.(17) Thus the commands of the sheikh should be acted upon immediately, no matter what the difficulty of carrying them out might be. The sacred law of Islam, the Sharia, does not permit compliance with any such command where obedience would involve an act which is prohibited by Islam. The Jerrahi must not obey the creature, his sheikh, in defiance of his Creator. This having been said, the dervish is still

obliged to obey his sheikh as he must expect the sheikh to test him and have faith that the sheikh would not command him to do anything which was in reality counter to the wishes of Allah.(18) Clearly the logic of the demand that one should obey the law at all costs is that any order given by the spiritual guide which appears to be opposed to the Sharia should be disregarded. In spite of this, the requirement that the dervish show total obedience to his sheikh wins through. Any apparent contradiction between the command of the spiritual guide and the instructions of the law must be understood to be just that, apparent, and not real. Despite the proviso concerning the sacred law, then, obedience to the sheikh is to be unquestioning and total.

Elsewhere, however, the Jerrahis are warned about false guides who may be detected by remembering that only a false guide would keep a dervish from the five canonical daily prayers or cause a dervish to break his fast. Any sheikh advising such behaviour is "an intimate friend - not of God, but of Satan".(19) This also contradicts the injunction that a dervish should be totally loyal to this guide and assume that the

guide knows best. It is impossible, on the basis of the Jerrahi sources and the contacts I had with individual members of the order to satisfactorily resolve this contradiction. At best we can recognise that this accurately represents a tension in the minds of the Jerrahis themselves between their allegiance as Muslims to the Sharia and canonical devotions, and their allegiance as sufis and dervishes to their spiritual guides and the sufi tradition.

Where it is taught that the Jerrahi's obedience to his sheikh should be total, then it is emphasised that this obedience should be real and not merely apparent. It is not sufficient to obey "insincerely".(20)

The Jerrahi's unshakable faith in the sinless state of his sheikh should be such that he never thinks of criticising or questioning the actions of his spiritual guide even for a moment.(21) To criticise, contradict or oppose one's spiritual guide represents such shameful conduct "toward that most holy being, that they threaten to destroy the pupil responsible for such foul and wicked behaviour".(22)

The spiritual guide is much concerned with the dreams which come to both the dervish and to himself. The Jerrahi is specifically instructed that if he has a peculiar or remarkable dream he must tell his sheikh about it at the first opportunity.(23) We have seen in the historical sketch of the development of the Jerrahis how dreams and their interpretation have been important influences on the lives of both Nureddin Jerrahi and Muzafer Ozak. The dreams which Jerrahis have will be interpreted by their spiritual guides. The Jerrahis, I was told, look upon dreams as indicators of the spiritual stage the dervish has attained, and enable the sheikh to alter the spiritual duties of the dervish to match this state. Elsewhere within the sufi tradition dreams are also used, and sometimes sought after, as means of predicting the future. One senior Jerrahi I spoke to was keen to point out that the Jerrahis themselves were not very interested in this use of dreams. After all, he pointed out, whatever comes is from Allah, and as a good dervish one must just accept what comes and trust in Allah. An excessive concern for the future is

therefore obviously inappropriate.

The power of the sheikh with regard to dreams goes far beyond interpretation, however. In dreams where the sheikh himself sees what purports to be a future event he is able to intervene in order to forestall an unwelcome outcome. One such incident was related to me by the head of the order in the United States.

While in Turkey one summer he decided to go to a cottage by the Aegean coast for a short break. The cottage is very isolated and a perfect way to relax after crowded city life in Istanbul and New York. Plans were made and it was arranged that several prominent members of the order would accompany him and his wife, and that two cars would be used. The day prior to the planned day of departure he went to see Muzafer Ozak who, at that time, was the sheikh of the order to ask his permission to make the journey and take his leave of him.

Without apparent reason the sheikh did not seem at all keen for the journey to be made. He kept asking why the individual wanted to go,

why he felt he needed a holiday. My informant told me that in the end he was almost pleading with the sheikh to be allowed to take his holiday as planned. In the end it was decided that the holiday would take place after all: as my informant told me, "he [the sheikh] didn't say I shouldn't go, but he didn't say I should either". (Had the sheikh actually forbidden the trip then the holiday would have had to be cancelled. No dervish may embark upon a journey without his sheikh's permission. No matter what the reason for the planned journey, if the sheikh does not wish the dervish to travel, then he must stay where he is).

The following morning the two cars were loaded up and the small group set out on their journey. In the first car went the wives and daughters, in the second car were the four men including my informant and Sefer Baba who was to be sheikh of the order after the death of Muzafer Ozak. During the journey they had to travel along a newly constructed road which had, along one side, a short and steep grassy bank at the bottom of which was a long, almost vertical drop.

On this section the car containing the four men

swerved and hit the side of the road, it shot into the air and left the road altogether, heading for this near vertical drop. My informant told me that he was convinced he was to die: "I said 'Allah' and closed my eyes".

As suddenly as the incident had begun, however, it was over. The car had come to rest on the grass verge, the engine still running, but the car was no longer moving. It lay balanced on the steep grassy bank, just before the great drop. With the aid of a rope from other motorists who had stopped to see if they might help, the car was secured where it was and one by one its occupants were able to scramble up the bank to the road and safety.

Sefer Baba then approached my informant and told him of a dream which Sheikh Muzafer Ozak had had a few nights before. In this the sheikh saw a funeral procession which was said to be that of my informant. The sheikh approached the coffin at the head of the procession and told the mourners to stop. He told them: "You can't have this man, there is still much work for him to do for the order".

The interpretation placed upon these events was clear. The sheikh had seen a vision of my informant's funeral as a result of the actual accident, though the accident itself had apparently no place in the dream. The sheikh interceded on behalf of the dervish, however, and the accident had thus turned out to be non-fatal. This points both to the fact that dreams are indicators of reality, and also that the sheikh may intercede on behalf of the dervish, not only in the tomb with the questioning angels but also with what might, in European cultures, be called fate or destiny. As the sheikh has such powers, how wise and fitting it must be, then, for the dervish to give his sheikh the total obedience and trust which, we have seen, Jerrahi teachings say are his due.

In addition to telling the dervish the correct opinions to have regarding his sheikh, the Jerrahi sources also mention how the dervish should actually behave in the presence of his guide. In considering these matters it may be well to begin with the formal act with which a new dervish is accepted into the order by his sheikh.

Although this act is not presented in any of the written sources in my possession I had the opportunity to observe this ceremony several times during my visits to the order. The individual wishing to be accepted first sat or knelt on the ground in front of the sheikh in quiet conversation while other dervishes in the room carried on quietly with their own discussions. During this time the sheikh noted down the name, date of birth and address of the applicant. The names of the new dervish's father and mother were also noted. With these preliminary formalities completed the ceremony proper could begin.

A prayer mat was brought and placed on the floor in the back room of the tekke where the preliminary discussion had taken place, it was apparently not necessary that this ceremony should take place in the room actually containing the Qibla. The sheikh sat on the mat with his back in the direction of the Qibla, and the applicant sat or knelt on the floor immediately in front of the sheikh and facing both Mecca and the sheikh. They sat so close that their knees were touching,

and the sheikh took hold of each of the applicant's hands in his. The other Jerrahis in the room had now stopped talking and were standing in silence with their hands folded across their chests.

The sheikh and new dervish recited some prayers and hymns (ilahiler) together, it seeming to matter little at this stage if the applicant was not yet fully conversant with the words. Then the sheikh was given a dervish cap by one of the Jerrahis standing by and kissed it and touched it to his forehead. He then kissed it and placed it on his left temple before kissing it for a final time and placing it to his right temple. This threefold process of kissing the cap and placing it to the forehead and left and right temple was then repeated on the dervish's face, with the sheikh still holding the cap. With this completed the sheikh placed the cap upon the aspirant's head. He was now accepted as a dervish of the sheikh. The new dervish rose to his feet and went round the room greeting and embracing the other dervishes present. After this short ceremony the new dervish was given a small book containing the litany of the order,

known as the Evrad or Vird-i Serif. Occasionally new dervishes were also given a tesbih, "rosary", by the sheikh. On two occasions when I observed this ceremony two new dervishes were accepted by the sheikh at once, both sitting on the floor in front of him with the sheikh holding the hands of both men at once. On two other occasions I saw women being accepted in this way with the exception that the dervish cap was not placed on their heads at the end of the ceremony: as the tekke is treated as a mosque the women's heads were, of course, covered already.

If the sheikh who had performed this particular ceremony with a dervish should die, then the Jerrahis must go through the ceremony all over again with the new sheikh. This serves well to indicate that the ceremony is one not of acceptance into the order, although it may be spoken of in these terms, but is a ceremony of acceptance and incorporation into a particular relationship with an individual sheikh. I was also informed that it is considered advisable and desirable to repeat this initiation/giving of allegiance every year.

No one would fail to notice the great pleasure which being so accepted by the sheikh gave the dervishes involved.

It is most important that the Jerrahi should behave absolutely correctly in the presence of his sheikh, for when with his sheikh it is as if the Jerrahi were in the presence of Allah, of the Prophet Muhammed, of the saint who founded his order (Nureddin Jerrahi) and of all the other saints of Islam.(24) It would clearly be a disaster for the dervish to behave in such a way as to cause offence to such an incomparably sublime group.

When in the presence of his sheikh the Jerrahi should not sit unless he is given leave to,(25) and when standing he should place the big toe of his right foot over the big toe of his left.(26) This is said to be a sign of readiness to receive the sheikh's orders. Needless to say, some people are better at observing this rule than others, but no sanction or disapproval seems to come the way of those who, for whatever reason, cannot or will not stand in this way. When the Jerrahi does receive permission to be seated in

his sheikh's presence, he should sit upon his feet.(27) Again, compliance with this rule was not universal. During my visits while Muzafer Ozak was sheikh of the order, foreigners, women and those physically unable to sit on the floor were allowed to take a place on the couches along three sides of the room in the tekke where the sheikh sits during the informal parts of the meetings. Under his successor, Sefer Baba, however, a number of the more senior members of the order also sat on these couches, although these individuals were capable of sitting on the floor as they did when the need arose - one of several differences between the two sheikhs.

The Jerrahi, once invited to sit in the presence of his sheikh, should not take this as an invitation to spend unlimited time in his company. The sources are explicit that a dervish should not stay too long with his sheikh unless, of course, he is invited by the sheikh to remain.(28) Some dervishes clearly follow this instruction, they come in from the room where the majority of the dervishes are gathered, kiss the hand of their sheikh and, not being invited either to sit or to stay, they again leave the room. Others,

however, simply come into the room where the sheikh is sitting and without any invitation apparently being given, they sit in a corner of the room listening to the sheikh's conversation. There is one apparent exception to the rule about not staying long with the sheikh unless invited. This concerns those who have had dreams or who have some worry or problem about which they wish to have the sheikh's guidance. They, on approaching the sheikh, may simply sit in front of him, on the floor, and will be listened to and advised by the sheikh.

When with the sheikh the Jerrahi should avoid talking unnecessarily. (29) This instruction holds true however old or senior a member of the order the individual might be. (30) There are said to be two main benefits to such silence: firstly, that in keeping silent when with the sheikh one shows due honour and respect to the sheikh and his position, and secondly, that keeping silent in this way is an act of self-effacement. (31) Any act of self-effacement is obviously important as the destruction of one's self or nafs is one of the central tasks of those engaged on the sufi path. When the Jerrahi

does speak in front of the sheikh, however, he must be polite in the extreme.(32) Particular care must be taken to avoid speaking, or indeed behaving, in a familiar way with the sheikh.(33) Although Jerrahis do speak with one another in the presence of the sheikh, in Istanbul care is taken to keep the noise of such conversations to an acceptably low level. If an individual or group are felt to be talking too loudly, then a Khalife will quietly mention this to them. During that part of the meeting which precedes the dhikr conversations in the sheikh's presence tend to be few and hushed, after the dhikr, on the other hand, the back room where the sheikh sits gets much more crowded and the general level of noise is somewhat higher.

When providing some service to the sheikh it is important for the Jerrahis to be in a state of ritual purity.(33) Such service, like the daily prayers, should be preceded by ritual ablution. Whenever the Jerrahi presents something to his sheikh he should kiss the latter's hand.(34) The sheikh's hand should also be kissed whenever the dervish accepts something from his guide. Whatever the sheikh may decide

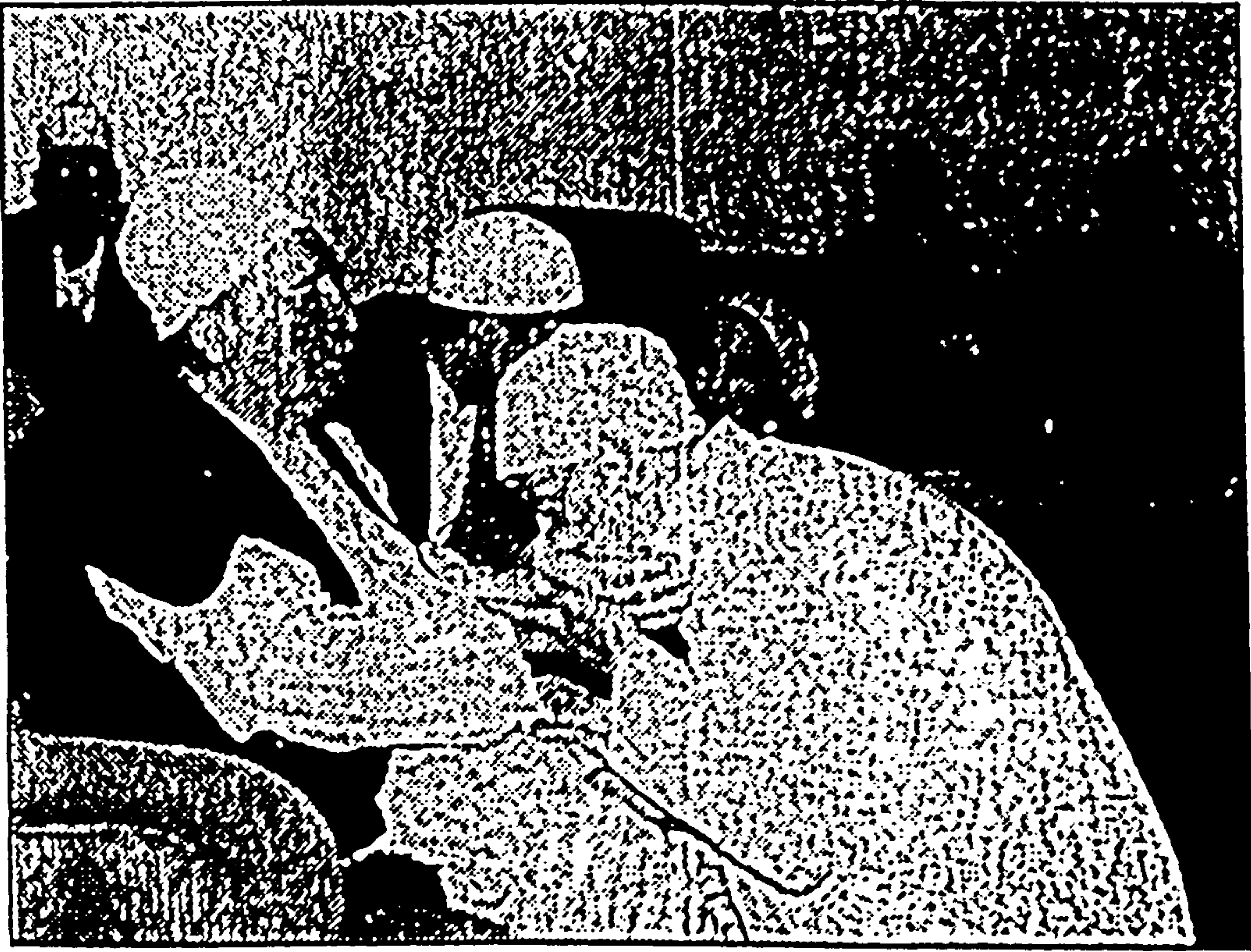
to give should be accepted by the dervish with "great joy and love".(35)

Two specific pieces of advice are offered to the Jerrahi in respect of his dealings with other members of the order. The novice dervish is advised to remember that his is the lowest rank among the followers of the sheikh, and the best thing for him to do is to serve the older dervishes.(36) This service to the other dervishes furthers the familiar theme of abnegation which is so central to the mystic path as we have seen. All dervishes, but most especially the novices, should consider that the older dervishes are like the sheikh in that they are always right in whatever they do or say, and that if the dervish disagrees with them then it is he who is in the wrong.(37) Not only will such an attitude provide yet another opportunity for the dervish to deny his own ideas and feelings, but if carried to its logical conclusion may assist in the total destruction of the self or nafs by causing the dervish to mistrust his own opinions and inclinations and to doubt whatever

knowledge he might otherwise have thought he had.

The death of a sheikh profoundly affects his dervishes as was apparent from the ritual instructions given to dervishes in America on the death of Muzaffer Ozak. (38) On learning of the death of the sheikh in Istanbul, and before flying there to attend the funeral, the head of the order in the United States wrote to his dervishes informing them of the news and detailing the prayer and Qur'anic recitations they should perform on behalf of the dead sheikh.

The dervish should begin by reciting (or reading) Surah Ya Sin as many times as they can. If the dervish can manage it, at least one of these recitations should be in Arabic, if the dervish finds this impossible then to do all recitations in English would be acceptable. After this, Surah Ikhlas should be recited three times. Then the Fatiha, Surah Falaq, and Surah Nas should all be recited once. Finally, the Jerrahi should recite the first five verses (ayat) of Surah Baqarah. After these recitations are complete the following prayer should be said. The prayer was written in English and in



A dervish respectfully kissing
Sheikh Muzaffer's palm during *sohbet*.
(Photo from *Hürriyet*)

To face p. 213

transliterated Arabic. The English reads as follows:

O the ever-existing Lord, the true owner of the universe, of all the temporal existences, glory be to You. We have faith in You, we witness our belief in You and Your Messenger Muhammed, Your greatest blessing upon us and Your mercy upon the universe. Bless him and his progeny and his companions. Accept my humble recitation of Your Holy Book and my prayers. The rewards of Your acceptance I send as my gift to the holy spirit of our beloved Master, Your Messenger. O Lord, accord us and our Efendi, who has come to You, the intercession or [sic] Your Beloved. O Lord, I give Your acceptance of my prayers as my gift to all Your prophets, to all Your friends who are close to You, and to the soul of my master, Muzaffer Efendi. May his grave be a lighted garden from the gardens of Paradise, may his permanent station be in Your Paradise. (39)

The Fatiha should then be recited again to complete these devotions.

Muzaffer Ozak, the sheikh for whom this prayer was said, was a very imposing figure. He was tall and very heavy, which simply at the physical level combined to give him a considerable "presence". Born and educated in the latter days of the Ottoman Empire, as we have seen, his language and his own writings were very much in the Ottoman tradition. He was clearly held in reverence and awe by the members of the order, and

enjoyed a high reputation among people who were otherwise unconnected with the Jerrahis. He had, or so I was warned before our first meeting, a typically oriental dislike for people listening to him and taking written notes. He was of the opinion that if someone was interested in what he had to say, then they would remember his words without needing to write them down. Paradoxically he had no objection to his words being recorded on tape. When at the tekke he would be seated in a long white robe and would take his meal alone, or with one or two other dervishes and often some Westerners, in the garden just outside the back room where he held court. Partly, no doubt, because of his great size, and partly because of the awe in which he was held by the dervishes, children who came to the meetings in the tekke seemed to hold him in a sort of wondrous respect, rather than in any simple affection. Indeed there was a general sense of the "otherness" of Sheikh Muzaffer, when one entered his presence it was immediately clear that he was somehow different from the other men in the room.

The contrast with Sefer Baba, Sheikh

Muzaffer's successor, could hardly have been more dramatic. He was an athletic, almost slight man of medium height. His appearance was totally unremarkable and he seemed to lack the "presence" which was so much a part of Muzaffer. He did not mind people taking written notes: the first thing he did when we were introduced was to send me to get my notebook. He wore no white robe at the tekke, not even during the dhikr. The other dervishes who had worn robes for the dhikr during my previous visits while Muzaffer was sheikh had followed Sefer Baba's lead and discarded their robes as well. When the meal was served he did not withdraw to eat alone but sat on the floor around a low table with several other dervishes in the same room as everybody else. He was much better than Muzaffer at dealing with small children, they would come running up to him and he would exclaim "this is my most beautiful dervish" and give the child a small gift of money or sweets. The very fact that a small child felt able to run up to Sefer Baba shows how much more approachable children evidently found him, to run up to Muzaffer without due ceremony would have been unthinkable. After being used to Muzaffer Ozak one was struck by the ordinariness of Sefer

Baba. When one first entered the back room of the tekke it was only clear which of the men present was the new sheikh by the fact that he occupied what had been sheikh Muzafer's place on one of the couches. While the other dervishes deferred to Sefer Baba, one did not get the same impression of awe as was present in the Jerrahis' dealings with Sheikh Muzafer. There was a clear impression that the distance between the sheikh and the dervish was much less under Sefer Baba than it had been on my earlier visits.

There are three possible explanations for these differences. The first lies in the fact that, as we have mentioned, Sheikh Muzafer was a man with his root firmly in the Ottoman past. He was steeped in the traditional way of life of both the Ottoman Empire and of Islam. Sefer Baba was more a man who had adapted well to the changed situation in Turkey with the development of democracy and popular sovereignty under the Republic. This explanation would see the changed style in the order as being the beginning of a process of democratisation within the sufi fraternity where the sheikh would become less an autocrat and more of a first among equals.

This interpretation sees the change of style as being a reflection of wider social and political change in Turkey.

The second possible interpretation sees the changed style as being a temporary matter, a stage in the development of Sefer Baba's which, once passed, will see Sefer Baba receiving exactly the kind of wondrous awe and devotion which Sheikh Muzafer inspired. The temporary change of style, according to this interpretation, is due to the difficulty of the adaptation which both the new sheikh and the other dervishes need to make to account for Sefer Baba's sudden change of role and status. Prior to the death of Muzafer Ozak, Sefer Baba was just one among many of the older, more senior dervishes. He was not at all conspicuous during this period. There was nothing, during my visits while Sheikh Muzafer was alive, which would have set Sefer Baba apart, nothing led one to think that this man was somehow different from the mass of dervishes or set him apart as the successor to Sheikh Muzafer. Indeed during this time Sefer Baba would have taken care not to be set apart from the other dervishes: like them he would have been careful

to avoid any speech or actions which could have been interpreted by others as a pride in his own spiritual achievements. Once Sefer Baba had become sheikh, however, he was to be treated as such by other dervishes: he could then expect and demand their total obedience and sincere devotion. The change of style would thus be necessary during a period in which both Sefer Baba and other dervishes were adapting themselves to his sudden elevation. During this period of adjustment Muzaffer, for the majority of the dervishes, would remain an important figure. To attempt to express this in figurative language: when Muzaffer was sheikh he was both the spiritual guide and leader of the dervishes and the foundation of their spiritual life; after the death of Muzaffer, Sefer Baba became the spiritual guide and leader of the dervishes but for most of them Muzaffer remained the foundation of their spiritual quest. For the new sheikh to attempt to rush this period of adaptation and to claim total loyalty and total authority immediately could well cause resentment and a split to develop in the order with the succession being disputed. Such splits and quarrels after the death of a sheikh are by no means uncommon in the history of

sufi orders.

The third explanation would simply see the change in style between the two sheikhs as a reflection not of their social background, nor of the length of time they had held their office, but merely as a reflection of their different personalities. At first glance the simplicity of this explanation is most inviting. Yet it is a simplicity which is more apparent than real. If the personalities of Sheikh Muzafer and of Sefer Baba are significantly different from one another, then we need to ask how Sefer Baba was accepted as a fit successor to the dead sheikh. We know that some members of the order had dreams in which they were told that Sefer was to be the new sheikh, but how did they have these dreams and regard them as authentic if Sefer and Muzafer were completely unlike? Dervishes of the Jerrahi order would certainly expect to see a man's spirituality and religious learning reflected in his personality and his behaviour. In order for the succession of Sefer Baba to be accepted by the majority of the dervishes it would surely have been necessary for there to be some similarity, at base, between Muzafer and Sefer in terms of the kind of people

they were.

It might be objected to this that the differences between Muzafer and Sefer were not differences of personality, so much, as differences of "management style". To be truly effective a management or leadership style must represent not merely the personality of the manager or leader, but also the needs of those who are to be managed or led. The membership of the order was largely the same under both Muzafer and Sefer. The leaders were seeking to lead the same group of followers. This being the case, if the new leader introduced a new leadership style, we are still left with the unanswered question as to why this change seemed to be accepted by the followers.

To choose between these three different interpretations of the change in leadership would be unwise at present. The only sensible course at this stage, I would maintain, is to propose a number of follow-up studies in which the order would be visited after Sefer Baba has been in charge for some time in order to see if there had been any developments in his style of leadership.

If there had this would tend to give some support to the argument that during the observations on which this study is based Sefer Baba's style was "transitional". On the other hand, if there is no observable change after Sefer has been in charge of the order for five, ten or fifteen years, then this will tend to support the thesis that Sefer's different style was a result of his different personality. The most telling feature of such a longitudinal study, however, will be to watch the period from the death of Sefer Baba until the end of the first five years of his successor's tenure. The comparison between the early years of the two sheikhs would thus provide us with a better basis for choosing between the alternative explanations outlined above.

If we look at the relationship of a dervish to his sheikh in more generally sociological terms, I would suggest that the relationship is a good example of what the German Sociologist Max Weber called "charismatic domination". This form of domination, or authority, does not depend on an individual's obedience to formal rules or traditional practices. In charismatic domination obedience

is owed not to an institution, but to an individual who is deemed to exhibit some extraordinary quality such as heroism or holiness.(40) Such heroic or other qualities may not be displayed by the charismatic leader, it may not be possible to measure them and, they may not even be objectively shown to exist. They are "imputed" to the leader.(41) That is to say, these qualities are not necessarily something the leader possesses, but rather they are something which the follower believes the leader to have.

In Weber's discussion of the subject charismatic domination in a pure form is said only to exist in the early days of a social movement while the institution is still being built up.(42) Following the death of an early charismatic leader a social movement is presented with a particularly acute problem. The only source of authority was those imputed qualities of holiness and so on which were restricted to the original leader. According to Weber at this point the personal basis of the leader's authority and power is converted "into various types of impersonal charisma, particularly 'charisma of office' and 'hereditary charisma'".(43) In charisma of

office obedience is owed to an individual not because of his imputed personal qualities but because of the position he holds. In hereditary charisma obedience is owed to a person not because of his own personal courage or holiness, but because of the courage or holiness of the person's ancestor, however many generations removed.

It is a form of charismatic domination which is the source of the obedience the dervish owes to his sheikh - both because of the qualities of holiness and understanding which are imputed to belong to the sheikh and because the sheikh is the representative of Allah, of the Prophet Muhammed and of the founder of the sufi order all of whose holiness is beyond question. So the obedience due the sheikh is total and personal, there being no recourse to the arbitration of a set of written rules in cases of dispute. It is, thus, a mixed or diluted form of charismatic domination - partly pure charisma depending on the imputed holiness of the sheikh, and partly charisma of office, owed to the sheikh because he is "sheikh" and spiritual heir of the first sheikh.

To refer back to the change in

leadership styles discussed earlier I would suggest that this can be understood in terms of a differential development of these two types of charisma mingled in the persona of a single sheikh. Immediately upon his succession to the office of sheikh of the order a dervish is owed obedience and is treated with respect because he is the spiritual heir of the founder of the order.

It takes a longer period of time, however, for the individual to be obeyed and respected simply because he is himself, because of his own imputed qualities. In other words, charisma of office sets the sheikh apart from the other dervishes from the moment of his succession, personal, pure charisma develops more slowly. What happened in the case discussed above, then, was that Muzafer Ozak had been sheikh of the order for some considerable time, and could therefore be seen to possess charisma of both types - from his imputed personal qualities and from his position as a successor of the founding sheikh - the first time I saw Sefer Baba after his accession to the leadership he had been sheikh for a period of only a few months and so was relying almost entirely on the charisma of his office. He would, however,

according to this theory, have personal charismatic qualities imputed to him in due course.

It is important, however, to add one caveat to the above. Sefer Baba must have possessed a certain amount of personal charisma or his candidacy for the leadership of the order would probably have been rejected. We must remember that Muzaffer Ozak, who died unexpectedly in his sleep, left no instructions as to who should succeed him. From what I learned from other Jerrahis Sefer Baba had a dream after Muzaffer's death in which the dead sheikh instructed him to be the new sheikh of the order. If Sefer Baba possessed some personal charisma it would help to provide a non-supernatural explanation for the fact that no other Jerrahi awoke one morning with a strong feeling that he should be the new sheikh, and that Sefer Baba's claim, and the dream upon which it was based, were so readily accepted as authentic by the other Jerrahis.

Despite the fact that, prior to the death of Sheikh Muzaffer, Sefer Baba was

inconspicuous and apparently no different from the mass of Jerrahis, he must have had, or have been thought by many other dervishes to have that certain something, that charisma which, however faint, predisposed the other Jerrahis to accept his own account of his dream, and to invest him with authority over them. Paradoxically, the fact that he was unobtrusive and inconspicuous may have been what marked him out. The absence of any social prominence on his part could have been interpreted by other dervishes as showing exactly the sort of humility and spiritual disinterest in the material and social world which are to be expected of someone well advanced on the mystic path.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RITUAL

Ritual acts and obligations are important elements in binding religious groups together. The Jerrahi sources have a considerable amount to say about rituals and other obligatory acts, which may be discussed here. They concern themselves with both normal Islamic rituals, such as the daily prayers, and with practices common only among the sufis. We shall concern ourselves here with both these elements.

PRAYER

Performance of the five ritual daily prayers becomes obligatory for a Muslim at the age of nine for girls and twelve for boys.(1) For the sufis these prayers are as important as they are for Muslims generally, though the real dervish must perform his prayers not simply because they are obligatory, but out of a sense that they are

the greatest gift Allah has given men.(2) Just as making the prayers is an obligation for every Muslim, so too, the Jerrahis argue, it is obligatory for every capable Muslim to know how and when to perform the prayers.(3) Much explicit instruction on prayer is, therefore, given by the Jerrahis and before looking at how they interpret the act we may outline the instruction given as to the correct way in which the act is to be performed.

As is common in Islam, the intention of the individual is stressed when talking of prayer.

Outwardly this is a conscious intention to perform the correct prayer, with all the elements correctly in sequence, at the correct time. There should also be an inner intention, however: the intention not to fall back into those bad habits and evil practices which one has forsaken.(4)

The first ritual element in the act of prayer is to cleanse oneself from one's state of ritual impurity. Even if one feels it is unnecessary it is best, the sources tell us, to renew one's ablution prior to each prayer.(5)

There are two types of ablution, the total ablution and the minor ablution. In the latter one must say: "I take refuge in Allah from the accursed Devil. In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. For Allah's sake I intend to perform the ritual ablution." (6) Then one performs the actual ablution in which one washes the hands up to the elbows, the head and the face, and the feet up to the ankles. This is sufficient for those who have been exposed to only minor impurities, namely urination, excretion, bleeding, vomiting, fainting, drunkenness, hysteria and sleep. (7) The total ablution requires that the individual take a full bath, and is required after sexual intercourse, voluntary or involuntary ejaculation and menstruation. The bath should be preceded, as with the minor ablution, by pronouncing the intention: "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. For Allah's sake, I intend to perform the ritual of total ablution". (8) After the ablution is completed the dervish is advised to recite the following supplication:

Have mercy my God and I thank you. I take refuge in You, forgive me my faults, and I believe that there is no God but Allah and Muhammed is His Messenger and Servant. (9)

In the course of a day five cycles of prayer must be performed, and for the Jerrahi this must include both the obligatory repetitions and a number of additional ones. Morning prayers consist of two cycles each of obligatory and additional prayers. At noon the prayers begin with four supernumerary cycles, followed by four obligatory ones with another two additional cycles to close. The afternoon prayer has four additional and four obligatory cycles, and the prayer at sunset begins with three obligatory cycles followed by just two additional ones. The night prayer, the final prayer of the day, has four obligatory cycles, then four voluntary, followed by another two voluntary and finally three "additional" cycles.(10) It is permissible for the beginner, however, to perform only the obligatory prayers.

The prayer begins with the adhan (Turkish: ezan), in which one stands facing the qiblah, the direction of Mecca, with hands raised and palms facing forward.(11) Men should place their thumbs behind their ears and women should have their hands at shoulder level. In this

position one says:

God is Most Great.
I bear witness that there is no God but
God.
I bear witness that Muhammed is the
Messenger of God.
Come to prayer.
Come to felicity.
God is Most Great.
There is no god but God.

This is the first element of the prayer.

The second step is to declare one's intention, for which the believer stands with his hands at his side. An example of an acceptable intention would be: "For Allah's sake I intend to make the four rak'ats [cycles] of the sunnat (Turkish: Sunnet) [voluntary] of the noon prayer". After which "I ask God's forgiveness" is repeated three times, followed by "God is Most Great" with the individual standing as he was for the first stage.

The third stage, the Subhanaka, is recited with the hands folded, left under the right: for men the hands are placed under the navel and for women over the chest. In this position one says:

Glory and praise to Thee, O God.
Your name is blessed, Your might
exalted.
And there is no God other than Thee.

This is followed immediately by the fourth stage which has two parts: the A'udhu and the Basmala. In the A'udhu the Muslim says: "I seek refuge with Allah from Satan the accursed". The Basmala is commonly said by devout Muslims not only in this part of the prayer, but also in the beginning any important task: "In the name of God, Most Beneficent, Most Merciful".

Stages five and six consist of recitations from the Qur'an. In section five it is always the Surah Fatiha, but section six can be one of a number of Surahs: namely, Ma'in (Small Kindnesses), Kawthar (Abundance), Kafirun (Disbelievers), Nasr (Help), Ikhlas (Purity), Falaq (Daybreak), of Nas (Humanity). After the chosen Surah has been recited for stage six, the believer should say: "God is Most Great".

In stage seven the Muslim bends from the waist at right angles placing his hands on his knees, and says: "Glory to my Lord the Tremendous". This is repeated three times while holding the same position. After again saying "God is Most Great" the Muslim again takes up a standing position with hands by his sides. While

moving to the upright position he says: "Allah hears the one who praises Him". Once the standing position has been reached he says: "Our Lord, Yours is the praise". "God is Most Great" again rounds off this section.

The eighth section is the Sajda in which, keeping the feet in position, the Muslim prostrates so that his forehead and his nose touch the floor between his hands. In assuming this position the right knee must go down to the floor before the left and the right hand must touch the floor prior to the left. When prostrated thus one says: "Glory to my Lord, the Most High, God is Most Great". Then one sits back on one's heels and prostrates again repeating the same words as before. In each case the first part of the phrase is repeated three times.

After this one stands without moving the feet or lifting oneself up with the hands. With the hands folded right over left you repeat what has just been done beginning with the Basmala. After the second prostration one remains seated rather than standing up, and in this position one recites:

All greetings, blessings, and good acts
belong to Allah
Praise unto you, O Prophet
And the mercy and blessing of Allah.
Peace be unto us, and unto the righteous
servants of Allah.
I bear witness that there is no god but
Allah
And I bear witness that Muhammed is His
servant and messenger.
God is Most Great. (12)

After this one again stands and recites the
Basmala and repeats the two cycles performed,
omitting the recitation of the Surah from the
Qur'an (which we have called stage six). With
this done one remains seated and recites the
following:

O Allah, bless our master Muhammed, and
the family of Muhammed
as You have blessed Abraham and the
family of Abraham
Surely You are Praiseworthy, Glorious
O Allah, be gracious unto Muhammed and
unto the family of Muhammed
As you were gracious unto Abraham and
unto the family of Abraham
Surely You are Praiseworthy, Glorious

This is followed by a second prayer:

Our Lord, grant us good in this world
good in the next world,
and protect us from the torment of the
fire
and the suffering of the grave
by Your Mercy
O Most Compassionate of the
Compassionate.

Finally in this section a third prayer is recited:

Our Lord, forgive me and my parents and
the believers on the Day of Accounting,
Our Lord, forgive us by Your Grace

O Beneficent, O Compassionate One.

This is followed, still in the seated position, by the believer turning his head once to the right and once to the left and saying to both sides "As-Salamu 'Alayhum Wa Rahmatu Llah".(13) After this one says "I ask God's forgiveness" three times and then says:

O Allah, You are Peace and peace is from You
Blessed art Thou, O Possessor of Majesty, Bounty and Honour.

At this point one wipes the face with the hands moving downwards from the forehead to the chin.

This whole process is then repeated for the obligatory cycles of prayer, beginning with the intention to perform the Obligatory prayers. If further voluntary prayers are to be included they are placed after the obligatory prayers, again beginning with the appropriate intention (stage two).

With all the cycles of prayer completed in this manner there remain only a few recitations. The first two run as follows:

O Allah, blessings upon our master Muhammed and upon the family of Muhammed and his Companions, and peace unto them.

and secondly:

Glory to Allah, the praise is Allah's,
there is no god but Allah and Allah is
Most Great;
And there is no power nor strength save
in Allah, the Exalted, the Tremendous.

Following these two one recites the Ayat ul-Kursi.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the
Compassionate,
Allah! There is no God save He, the
Living, the Eternal
Slumber does not overtake Him, nor sleep
To Him belongs what is in the heavens
and the earth
Who is it that intercedes with Him
except by His permission?
He knows what is before them and what is
behind them, and they encompass nothing
of His knowledge except as He willed
His throne extends over the heavens and
the earth and their preservation does
not tire Him
And He is the Exalted, the Tremendous.

At this point the dervish is instructed
to perform the act of worship linked with his
tesbih. This is, in effect, a rosary which will
contain ninety nine beads (alternatively a smaller
version with only thirty three beads may be used
and repeated). First one says "Possessor of
Majesty and Perfection, Glory to Allah" and
repeats "Glory to Allah" thirty three times.
Then one says "Glory to the Generous" and repeats
"the praise belongs to Allah" thirty three times.
For the final set of beads one says "Lord of the

Worlds, exalted is His act" and repeats, again thirty three times, "Allah is Most Great". Having thus come to the end of the tesbih one says:

There is no god but Allah Alone, without a partner and His is the sovereignty and His is the praise and He is able to do all things.

It will have become clear during this description of what is stressed to be a "minimal" outline of the daily prayers that most of the time has been taken up with emphasising the splendour and majesty of God and, in doing so, stressing the distance which separates Allah from the believer. The believer merely praises the might of Allah and pleads for forgiveness for his own short-comings.

At this point in the proceedings, however, space is left for the believer to make his own personal prayers. Here there is no ritual, no set form of words. At this point the believer only takes his troubles and his hopes to Allah. At this point Allah is not made to seem so remote. One of my informants among the Jerrahi stressed the importance of this type of prayer. Although, of course, Allah knows all our thoughts and wishes, yet still we should express these wishes to Him in words. Though Allah knows what we want we should

still ask. For in asking someone for something we are, explained my informant, recognising their ability to provide us with what we desire. So in asking Allah for whatever we need we are recognising that Allah has the power to answer our needs and to provide what we lack.

After these personal prayers, the ritual of prayer is brought to a close. The first part of this "closing" is to recite:

Blessing and peace unto you O Messenger
of God
Blessing and peace unto you O Beloved of
God
Blessing and peace unto you O Master of
the First and the Last
And praise be to Allah, Lord of the
Worlds.

This praise for the Prophet is typical of the high level of regard and veneration there is for Muhammed in the Muslim world. The final act of the daily prayer is to recite the Fatiha, which also formed stage five of our description.

It is important to perform these prayers at the appropriate time for no act of worship is looked upon more favourably by Allah than prayers performed "at the proper time".(14) At each of the five daily prayers the dervish is advised to

take stock of his actions, words and thoughts since his last prayers.(15) Just as there is an obligation on the dervish, and more generally upon all Muslims, to perform the prayers at the proper times, so the dervish should take this as a token of the necessity of being aware of the proper time of all things: to be aware of when it is or is not appropriate to do all the things it is lawful for a believer to do.(16)

The dervishes are warned that Satan will attempt to cause them to doubt the value and importance of the ritual prayers. Yet they must not waver, because prayers were never neglected by Muhammed, a fact which is taken as sufficient proof of their necessity.(17) Satan himself is reported as saying that those who delay, or worse still abandon, their prayers are Satan's friends.(18) If the dervish should happen, for whatever reason, to miss a prayer he should look on this as a punishment from Allah for some wrongdoing.(19) As for those individuals who purposefully abandon their prayers, these are regarded by Satan as the happiest among human beings.(20)

The dervishes are also reminded of the need to concentrate on the matter in hand while performing their prayers. The way in which they are described above, with virtually every movement and every word detailed in advance it would be possible to allow the prayers to become a rather mechanical, unthinking performance. But this is something to be lamented. It is regarded as both sad and inappropriate that:

even while we do our salat [prayers] our minds are elsewhere, perhaps because we do not know its true value and we haven't made an effort to learn

it".(21)

The key to whether an individual's prayer is being done properly or not is to be found in his conduct. Anyone who, although he says his five daily prayers, persists in wicked conduct cannot, we are informed, be doing the prayers properly. He is only making a show of his prayers. Were individuals to pray "as God wishes" then the power of their prayers would be such that it would prevent them from all forms of evil and wickedness.(22)

So much, then, for the regular five daily prayers. There is one prayer in the week, however, with more than the usual significance.

This is the noon prayer on the Friday. It is obligatory for every male Muslim to attend this prayer in congregation, and whereas there is no obligation upon a woman to perform it in congregation there is considerable merit in so doing.(23) Such is the force of this obligation that we are advised that if a person, presumably just referring to a man in this instance, misses the Friday congregational prayer three times, then his testimony in matters of law and religion becomes unreliable.(24)

The merit of a Friday prayer performed in congregation is such that it is described as the poor man's pilgrimage.(25) Every Muslim who has both the necessary wealth and good health is obliged to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during his life. The merit of doing Friday noon prayers in the congregation having performed the correct ablution and wearing clean, not necessarily new, clothes is equal to that of performing the pilgrimage, or Hajj. As for those who deliberately abandon their Friday prayers, they are among the groups Satan loves the most.(26)

In addition to being obligatory on a Friday, performing prayer in congregation is desirable whenever possible. When performed in congregation prayer has seventy seven times its usual reward and any absent-minded mistakes made in the performance of such prayers are disregarded.(27) The effect of such prayers is so great that it makes Satan bow his head.(28) If all five of the daily prayers are performed in congregation then it is reported on the authority of Muhammed that the individual may look forward to five things.(29) Firstly he will not be afflicted with poverty in this world or after his death, secondly, he will not suffer torment in the tomb or at the resurrection on the Day of Judgement, thirdly, he will be presented with the record of his life from the right hand side, which signifies that he is one of those destined for Paradise. Fourthly, he will cross the bridge called Sirat, which is suspended over Hell, with the speed of lightning. Finally, he will enter Paradise without torment and reckoning. The Jerrahi sources show an almost complete lack of interest in the apparently tautologous nature of the last three rewards. In one sense the sources indicate that it is not possible for a believer to

be regarded as alone, even if he should not be in congregation, as generally understood, when performing his prayers. Even when a Muslim performs his prayers alone he is in reality an Imam (prayer leader) as angels take up position behind him to do their prayers.(30)

We mentioned earlier that the five daily prayers were a minimum requirement. We shall see in later sections how the dervish is required to go beyond the very minimum in the performance of his religious duties, and prayer is no exception to this general trend. "As far as possible" the dervish should observe the daily non-compulsory prayers of ishraq (shortly after sunrise), duha (before noon), awwabin (a penitential early evening prayer) and tahajjud (during the night).(31) The last of these is the most important and is regarded as having been obligatory for the Prophet.(32) This prayer has the effect, we are told, of making Satan blind.(33)

Of even greater merit than normal night prayers are those done during the month of Ramadan, the Tarawih prayers. Muhammed is

reported to have said that those Muslims who observe this prayer will be given one thousand and seven hundred rewards for each prostration.(34) This prayer consists of twenty individual cycles, preceded by ten cycles of the obligatory night prayer and followed by three cycles of the witr prayer.(35)

The witr prayer is one of an odd number of cycles performed during the night. The exact time of night is not important for this prayer. The more usual odd number chosen for the cycles is three though it may be anything from one to eleven. This differs from the daily prayers in having an additional prayer inserted in the last of the cycles, say the third, after a recitation of a Surah from the Qur'an, what we earlier described as stage six.(36) This special prayer, the Qunut, runs as follows:

O Allah, surely we ask Your help,
we ask Your forgiveness
we ask Your guidance
and we are faithful to You
we turn to You
and we trust in You
and we praise You with all good
we are thankful to You
and not ungrateful to You
and we renounce and abandon the one who
offends You with sins.
O Allah, You we serve
and to You we pray and prostrate

and to You we run
we hope for Your mercy
and fear Your punishment
surely Your punishment will overtake
those who disbelieve.

Another occasion on which prayers are especially valuable is on the day of Arifah. (37) According to Muhammed anyone who performs an additional prayer between the noon and afternoon prayers on this day will receive one thousand times one thousand rewards. The prayer should be of four cycles and in it Surah Fatiha should be recited once and Surah Ikhlas (Purity) fifty times. Each letter of the Qur'an thus recited would shed such light upon the believer, we are told, that by the time he was finished he would be able to see the pilgrims as they circumnambulated the Ka'aba in Mecca.

The festivals of the Muslim year, one at the end of Ramadan and the other coinciding with the sacrifice of animals during the pilgrimage to Mecca, are also occasions where supererogatory prayers are to be considered essential. (38) The festival at the end of Ramadan is particularly stressed and begins with the morning prayer which, as in Ramadan, is done before dawn. Dervishes

must now change and put on fresh clothes after a total ablution.(39) A sermon is given on the end of the fast and upon the subject of alms-giving. After sunrise two cycles of special prayers are performed. No adhan is recited, which was stage one in our earlier description, and is followed by proclaiming the tekbir, "Allah is Most Great", with the hands raised and concluded with the hands being lowered to the sides. This is repeated ten times. Then the Fatiha is recited, followed by Surah al-Ala (The Highest). The Qunut prayer given above is then said five times after which the usual prayer cycle is performed from the point of the bowing movement. After the prostration five additional tekbers are performed immediately prior to the second prostration which is performed as usual. This general pattern is followed in the second cycle but in this case the Surah recited is Shams (The Sun), which is followed by Qunut repeated four times. The closing section for the prayer is as normal. After this the long tekbir is sung,(40) followed by a communal breakfast, the giving of alms, and of personal gifts.

The stress laid on the performance of

non-obligatory prayers, which we have seen, is not the only distinctive element in Jerrahi teaching on prayer. As with many other things the Jerrahi's find in prayer certain hidden meanings. In the sources a number of interpretations of the act of prayer are offered. The first of these holds that in prayer one can see examples of all the possible types of movements and body shapes.(41) The position adopted at the beginning of the prayers, standing up straight, is both straight and upwards and represents man. The bowing movement is both angular and horizontal and is taken to be symbolic of the animal in man. The third movement, that of prostration, is curved and downwards, and is held to symbolise the vegetal element in man. Through these movements which were ordained by Allah, the dervish gives symbolic expression that:

the vegetal in us will move and evolve into animal, which in turn will evolve into man, and he in turn will seek to ascend to his Lord.(42)

It will be noticed that this presents an interpretation which sees the movements in reverse order. When praying man begins by standing, representing his humanity, then he bows, symbolising the animal within himself, and then he prostrates representing the vegetal in himself.

The interpretation given to the symbols, then, runs counter to the sequence of the symbols themselves.

The initial tekbir, declaration of the supremacy of God, is symbolic of the believer setting aside the world.(43) With this the world is relegated to the margins and the individual enters the presence of Allah.(44) Clearly if the tekbir is seen as an act of separation from the world and of entering the presence of Allah, this will have implications for the status of the believer when at prayer. We shall return to this shortly.

The Call to Prayer symbolises the trumpet call of Israfil, "the angel of resurrection".(45) When the believers hear this call they hurry to the mosque and, in so doing, represent their rising from the tomb and hurrying to the place of congregation at the final judgement. Likewise the Muslim's arrival at the mosque is symbolic of his arrival at the place where mankind is to be judged. This symbolic

interpretation seems particularly appropriate considering the emphasis already noted on the need to treat the time of the prayers as a time when the dervish makes an account of all his actions, thoughts and words since the last prayer. One might then go on to say that this self judgement is symbolic of the judgement the believer is to undergo, though this connection is not made in the Jerrahi sources.

When the believers stand in rows at the beginning of the prayer they represent humanity standing before Allah to make an account of their lives.(46) When standing in this way the dervish should say, inwardly: "O Lord, I shall not stand in the presence of any but You and Your friends".(47) Bowing from the waist is a symbol of confession of sins and of pleading for Allah's forgiveness.(48) While in this position one should say, again inwardly: "O Lord, I bow to none save You. To Your enemies I make no show of friendship, offer no assistance".(49) When the individual straitens up from this bowing position he should be reminded that his body will be restored to life on the Day of Resurrection prior to being judged along with the rest of

mankind.(50) The act of prostration is all symbolic of the situation of the individual at the resurrection when each must come face to face with their past deeds and all will have to obey the command of Allah to read out their records.(51) When going down for the second prostration the dervish should say inwardly: "O Lord, I prostrate myself before You alone. I was nothing, You brought me out of the dust, and once again I shall be nothing".(52) With the final benedictions and salutations, the dervish comes face to face with everything he has done and becomes painfully aware of the reality of the Fire of Hell. In turning the head from side to side when making the salutations the dervish seems to be looking around for someone who will intercede with the Almighty on his behalf.(53)

One further interpretation may be offered.(54) When one lifts one's hands to say "God is Most Great", these hands should be cleansed of the cares of two worlds. Not only should they be free of material matters but should be untroubled by the desire and hope for the next world. When the hands are thus lifted, the backs of the hands should throw everything but the love

of Allah behind you. When reciting the Fatiha and other portions of the Qur'an one is addressing Allah with His own words, so great care should be exercised in order to learn these words properly. When one bows it is as if one dives into total piety in an effort to leave the material world and reach the proximity of God. When one stands after the bow one should realise that one is at the summit of the greatness of humanity. One has reached the high point of one who fully realises that he is as nothing and is ready to throw himself on his face before his God. Then comes the prostration when the true believer gains such joy and satisfaction from rubbing his face on the floor that he rises to such divine heights that the human mind is not able to comprehend his state. This, it is claimed, is the essence and summation of the prayer. (55) Then when one sits between the two prostrations one feels helpless and asks for Allah's forgiveness for being unable to rise yet higher and for being unable to serve Allah as one would wish. Then, having bowed to the ground in the second prostration, one should praise Allah for having accepted you as you are, and express your gratitude for all of Allah's favours to you. Then you sit and recite your

prayers for Muhammed, realising that the best path to salvation and bliss - Islam - was given to mankind by Allah through the mouth of Muhammed, and that the believer is attached to Allah through his attachments to Allah's Prophet.

Mention has been made of the proximity between man and God which is achieved during prayer. This idea is addressed in a saying by Muhammed reported by the Jerrahis which tells that the believer should perform his prayers as if he were able to see Allah, for even if he does not see God, surely God sees him.(56) Prayer is said, indeed, to be the Miraj of the believer.(57)

In his Miraj Muhammed is said to have ascended into heaven, to have journeyed through the seven heavens and to have conversed with Allah. The prayers of the believer are his equivalent of this experience. Allah manifests Himself to those who pray: "In their Prayer-Ascension they achieve various divine manifestations in keeping with their respective capacities".(58) During prayer the heart of the believer becomes filled with the joys of the hereafter as though he were already established there.(59) It is said that any believer who does not experience Allah's

manifestations in all their variety and splendour nor experiences the secrets of the Essence of Allah performs his prayers only as a duty.(60) He has no deep emotional or spiritual attachment to his prayers and thus experiences none of their rewards. It is feared that this situation may lead the individual to find his prayers too much of a burden, and to abandon them.

DHIKR

Dhikr is probably the most distinctive act of worship in sufism, and is not found elsewhere in Islam. Literally the word means Remembrance, and has here the implication of the remembrance of Allah. One of the major features of the dhikr consists of reciting the Divine Names, the many names of God, but this in itself is not enough. The Jerrahis stress that: "Remembrance means not forgetting Allah in anything one does".(61) This carries with it the familiar injunction that the dervish must remember that even if he cannot see Allah, yet surely Allah sees him.

The dhikr is said to be of several

kinds, with Allah being remembered: "openly or secretly, by night or by day, with the tongue or in the heart, publicly and privately".(62) The public and the private dhikr differ from one another in kind, and the congregational, public dhikr will be described shortly. Within the realm of the private dhikr there is held to be a progression from the audible to the silent dhikr, and thence to the dhikr of the soul and finally to dhikr of the inner secret.(63) The first of these stages is not in fact one indivisible step; it too may be subdivided. To begin with the dervish recites orally the Divine Name given to him for this purpose by his sheikh. Next comes the stage of engaging the heart also in this remembrance. Finally the dervish has to aim to become so preoccupied with the dhikr that neither the tongue nor the heart is much concerned with anything else.(64)

There is also a progression in what is said during remembrance, from Allah - the name of Majesty - to Hu - the Name of Essence.(65) The latter word, Hu, is an expression of: "a pure and simple longing for Allah" and is a high level of dhikr only for those who have come close to

Allah.(66) Hu remembers Allah in His essence and Allah is the word used by those remembering Him as the Lord and Creator of the world. Allah, then, emphasises multiplicity in seeing God as the Creator, as there can be no Creator without creatures. Hu is unitive. There is, however, an intermediate stage for those who "seeing Oneness together with multiplicity" cannot be satisfied with simply saying Hu.(67) These dervishes are instructed to combine the two and remember Allah by repeating the word Allahu.

Before commencing his private remembrance the dervish must always ask God's pardon at least fifteen times, though to do so twenty, seventy or one hundred times is to be preferred.(68) In each period of twenty four hours remembrance should be made at least five thousand times. The greater the number by which this standard is exceeded the better. Those with a strong desire to achieve unity with Allah should, in every twenty four hours, recite seven hundred affirmations of unity - "There is no God but Allah" - followed by five thousand Names of Majesty - "Allah" - with five hundred Names of Essence - "Hu" - to close.(69)



Ecstatic Halveti-Jerrahi dervishes
during *dhikr*.
(Photo from *Hürriyet*)

To face p. 256

When we turn to look at the public, congregational dhikr we find little specific teaching in the Jerrahi sources. This is only to be expected. This dhikr, being done in congregation, is largely learned by copying the other dervishes. Besides, the main duty of all dervishes is to follow the instructions given by the sheikh. There are, however, five basic rules which the dervish should follow.(70) Firstly the dervish is instructed not to act according to his individual will. His actions should be confined by the will of his sheikh. Secondly, if there occurs in the dervish a feeling which prompts him to act in a way different from the others present, then he may be forgiven this only on account of his weakness. Thirdly, when such a state passes the dervish should endeavour to return to a state of calm normality. It would be inexcusable of the dervish to attempt to prolong these ecstatic feelings for to do so would be to amuse himself, rather than striving for union with Allah. Fourthly, the dervish who acts in unison with the others performing the dhikr effaces his nafs and derives strength from his fellow dervishes. Fifthly, the dervish is advised that should the

sheikh or other dervishes in charge indicate that freedom of movement is permissible, then to follow this concession is a different matter and the dervish may then disregard the above prohibitions.

The communal dhikr takes place weekly, on Thursday evenings, when the dervishes meet at the tekke. The dervishes gradually assemble before the evening prayer which they perform together in the room which will later be used for the dhikr. After these prayers, the dervishes take a meal together, seated on the floor around low tables. The meal is prepared by some of the dervishes themselves. This meal, for many dervishes the main meal of the day, is also shared with any guests who happen to be attending.

The dhikr begins with the dervishes seated on the floor roughly forming semi-circles in front of the qibla. This opening period contains both prayer and chanting of the Name of Majesty and the Name of Essence. The general tempo is controlled by the sheikh, tapping on the floor to indicate the desired rhythm. During the chanting of the Names the dervishes turn their heads from side to side, some with jerky, staccato

movements, others with heads turning so fluidly as to be almost turning their heads in complete circles. There is a short lull after this section of the dhikr in which, on several occasions, very heavy breathing and once even a whimpering sound could be heard emanating from dervishes who were developing ecstatic states from the elements of the dhikr so far performed.

After this short lull the dervishes all stand in concentric, though rough, circles. They link arms or hold hands and stand, swaying from side to side while, at the same time, taking rhythmic steps to the left. Again the sheikh controls the exact rhythm, often by clapping his hands. This portion of the dhikr is accompanied by the beating of a drum which acts as an additional indication of the tempo to be maintained. The general tendency in both the sections of the ritual, so far mentioned, is for them to start slowly, gradually building the tempo, and the volume of the chanting and singing, bringing each section to a loud, frenetic climax. During this second section there is some chanting of Divine Names and some singing of hymns, a form of worship of which the Jerrahis are particularly

fond.

It was during this second phase that I witnessed a number of dervishes become carried away into ecstatic states, quite oblivious of other dervishes around them. When this happened the individual was helped from the main dhikr circle by one of the older dervishes and taken to the back room. On one such occasion a young man in his mid-twenties continued to chant his dhikr after having been literally carried into the back room. He was not in sufficient control of his movements to be able to walk. Once in the back room the dervish collapsed, full length on the floor and lay panting for breath. After a little while, being a little recovered, he was assisted into a sitting position on the floor facing into the corner of the room. Still gasping for breath the young man sat there while the older dervish with him dabbed cold water on the back of the younger man's neck. After a short while, not having moved, the younger man burst into tears and sobbed for several minutes. When he had finished weeping he sat perfectly, almost unnaturally still for some time. Then he rose and began to perform some prostrations. It was clear from the

slightly vacant expression on his face, that he was still not fully aware of precisely where he was - indeed, had it not been for the timely intervention of one of the older dervishes he would have performed his prostrations facing in the wrong direction. This particular instance of enthusiasm stood out from others I witnessed because of the very quiet, calm way in which it expressed itself. The individual was quiet, and moved but little. There was a profound calm in the whole incident.

This stands in stark contrast to another occasion, again during the second phase of the dhikr. This time two dervishes became ecstatic and were taken, not without some difficulty, from the circle. Having collapsed to the floor in the back room these dervishes remained most animated. They moved vigorously, one rolling from side to side, the other pushing himself forcefully off the floor on his hands and knees, jumping somewhat like a sheep. Both were continuing loudly to shout the Divine Names - "Allah! Allah! Allah!..." Both these dervishes needed to be forcibly restrained. After being so restrained both calmed down and became totally lethargic, with no

apparent desire to move and little understanding of their surroundings. They were then lifted to the side of the room and left, propped up against the wall. Of the two types of ecstatic occurrence, the calm and the animated, the latter was the more commonly observed.

Meanwhile, in the main room, the dhikr continued. After the second section in which the dervishes were walking around in their circles, getting quicker and quicker, their singing and chanting getting louder and louder, they stood still, remaining in their circles, making slight up and down movements. Like the other parts of the ritual this began slowly and quietly and built up until the dervishes were virtually jumping up and down and their chanting came loud and breathless.

After this section the second part, where the dervishes walked around in their circles, was repeated. On several occasions, though not every time, the dervishes then stood in two sets of parallel lines facing one another while they sang a hymn. There were no movements performed during this period. On each occasion I

observed the dhikr, however, the last element of the ritual was performed with the dervishes again seated on the floor and consisted of the singing of a number of hymns followed by intercessory prayers.

Although the sheikh controlled the tempo of the ritual by clapping his hands he did not always stay until the very end. This was not uncommon for the other dervishes, some of whom participated in some of the ritual and then left the circle to watch and rest. When the Sheikh left, however, one of his Khalifes took his place dictating the speed of the ritual.

Once the dhikr was concluded the dervishes sat socialising with one another and drinking tea. This was obviously a time for meeting old friends and for discussing the affairs of the tekke and of the world. It also provided an occasion for Sohbet, for the Sheikh to talk with his followers and to provide them with some instruction. The amount of time spent in such talk at this point was subject to some considerable variation as changes in the timing of the night prayers caused the time at which the

dhikr began to change from week to week. There was no closing ceremony or set time for leaving. The dervishes gradually took their leave of the sheikh and left individually or in small groups.

This was the general shape of the main dhikr. During my second period with the Jerrahis there was also a shorter dhikr performed before the meal, either immediately before or after the evening prayer. This consisted, in effect, of the first section of the main dhikr, some hymns and chanting performed with the dervishes seated on the floor and turning their heads from side to side.

The Jerrahi dhikr contains singing, and the movements of the dervishes may be classified as dancing, and neither singing nor dancing are part of main-stream Islamic ritual. The Mevlevi "whirling" is not commonly practised by the Jerrahis themselves, though on occasion a Mevlevi will join them and whirl in the centre of the concentric circles during the second phase of the dhikr. Although singing is frowned upon in main-stream Islam the Jerrahis lay much store by it. The important thing to remember, I was told,

is that music may be used for different purposes, and it is this purpose or intention which is important. The same instruments may be used for playing hymns or music for a belly dancer. The purpose of religious music, the sources tell us, is to attain some spiritual advantage: "those who listen to it spiritually attain unto God; those who listen to it sensually fall to the level of flesh".(71) Dervishes, then, are instructed to concentrate on this spiritual aspect of the music.(72) For this reason whenever singing is to take place there should be a sheikh present to direct the proceedings and to see that everything is done with due order and decency.(73) As we have seen elsewhere it is held that there are different sufi orders in order that people of different temperaments and inclinations might find a way to God which suits them. For the Jerrahis one of the most potent ways of enhancing man's spiritual experience is through music.

Under the leadership of Sefer Baba, during my second period with the dervishes, there was an additional weekly evening meeting. This took place on a Monday, and although no dhikr was performed on this occasion it may conveniently be

discussed here. After the evening prayers were said there was a communal meal provided. These Monday gatherings were not as well attended as the meetings for the dhikr, with something like a quarter of the number present. After the meal the main business of the evening took place. Everyone sat on the floor in one of the back rooms of the tekke for, in effect, a musical evening. At each of these gatherings which I attended the new sheikh was present and dictated the course of the proceedings.

The business of the evening consisted of singing hymns and songs with a strong sufi element in them. The singing was usually accompanied by the playing of traditional Turkish classical musical instruments, though the number and type of the instruments showed considerable variation. Some people, including some of the musicians who attended these Monday gatherings were unknown to me from the dhikr meetings. To say that all the meetings were for singing hides considerable differences in the meetings I observed. On one occasion, for example, most of the songs sung were known to all of the dervishes present as they formed part of the dhikr ceremony. All were able

to join in with these. On another occasion a number of the songs were unknown to all but a handful of the dervishes and so during the evening most individuals were singing some hymns, but merely listening to others. On yet another occasion the hymns being sung were unknown to virtually everybody. As much Ottoman and traditional Turkish music is not written down it survives, to a greater or lesser degree, in the memories of those older men who learned the songs as youngsters. On this particular evening the sheikh, along with some others fond of the old songs, were trying to recall some of these traditional pieces. They had the words written down and had to try to reconstruct the tunes from memory. They would sing for a while and then come to a halt while several of their number would suggest melody lines which might follow on from where they had just finished. On this occasion almost all the people in the room were reduced to being spectators, observing this fascinating process.

With this variety of forms, the Monday meeting shows how ritual meets and may fade into "theatre". When the hymns being sung were well

known to everybody, although there was no movement, this meeting was clearly a ritual. Believers had gathered together to sing hymns in praise of Allah and of holy men in Islam. They sang for a particular purpose, in a particular place, and under the direction of a particular individual who was held to have religious authority. All participated in the activity. When the hymns were unknown to all but a handful, most were reduced to the role of spectators. Participation had become observation, ritual had become, for most of us, spectacle.

One final point of interest regarding these Monday meetings is that on these occasions both men and women sat in the same room. For the dhikr on Thursdays the women remained behind a screen for both the meal and the ritual. True, on Mondays the women all congregated in one corner, but they did share the same room as the men.

Although the dhikr is undoubtedly important to the dervishes and is a distinctively sufi, as opposed to normal Islamic, practice, senior dervishes including sheikh Sefer Baba were

at pains to stress to me the importance of ordinary Muslim prayer, repeating the words attributed to Muhammed that the greatest remembrance, dhikr, is the five daily prayers.

FASTING

After the declaration of faith - "There is no God but God and Muhammed is His Messenger" - and the ritual prayers, another of the Pillars of Islam is fasting. The Arabic word for fasting, "al-Siyam", refers to a state of denial in which one withdraws from those things to which one is accustomed: particularly food and drink, sexual intercourse, and all forms of sin.(74)

Like any form of self-denial or self-discipline, fasting may be seen as a negative thing with the period of fasting being regarded as a time of trial which one must endeavour to pass through. Jerrahis are recommended to see it in quite a different light. Those who fast are advised to look upon it as a blessing both in this world and for the next. One should fast not with a heavy heart, but with "sincerity, love [and] affection" for Allah.(75)

All muslims are required to fast during the month of Ramadan. For the whole of that month they must not eat, drink or have sexual intercourse between dawn and sunset. As we would expect, the dervishes are instructed to keep this fast too. The importance of the month may be judged by the fact that there is an esoteric interpretation provided for the word itself. We are told that the first letter in the Arabic word Ramadan is the letter 'R' which stands for the word Ridwan - Allah's Gratification. The second letter, 'M', stands for Muhabba - Allah's Love. The third letter, transliterated as 'DZ', stands for Dziman - Allah's protection and security. The fourth letter, the 'Alif', stands for the word ulfa - Allah's friendship. Finally there is the 'N', representing the word Nur - The Holy Light, The Essence.(76) With all these Names and Attributes represented in the name of the month of fasting it is of little wonder that it is held in such regard.

The importance of this annual, month-long fast is such that it can even be said

to be one quarter of faith: "half of faith is patience, and half of patience is fasting during Ramadan".(77) Two sayings of the Prophet Muhammed are given to illustrate the importance, and the value, of the month.(78) In the first of these it is reported that the beginning of the month is the manifestation of Allah's mercy, the middle brings His forgiveness and the end of the month gives safety from Hell-fire. The second saying tells us that throughout the month all the doors of Paradise remain open. While these statements express the benefit to be derived from the month, it is implicit that this benefit may only be obtained by those who have kept the fast as they are obliged to do. Those who keep the fast are one of the four groups whose presence is craved in Paradise.(79)

In addition to fasting other things are advised for the month. Throughout the month one must do four things: remember Allah, repent for one's sins, ask Allah for His Paradise, and take refuge in Allah from the fires of Hell.(80) One should attempt, during Ramadan, to get into the habit of making the total ritual ablution either at night or in the morning.(81) The nights of

Ramadan are times when prayers are particularly rewarded, as we saw in the earlier section on prayer, with each believer who so prays being rewarded with a palace in Paradise constructed out of red ruby. (82)

We have already seen the effect prayer was said to have on Satan. Fasting does not leave Satan unmoved, while a Muslim fasts Satan has his hands and feet tied and is not released until the believer's fast is broken. (83)

Another source of virtue and reward during Ramadan is providing meals to those who are breaking their fast. Whoever does this will be given water to drink from the fountain of Kavser on the Day of Judgement and will not thirst then for all eternity. (84) Muzaffer Ozak goes even further than this. He advises that to give a meal to someone breaking their fast carries the same merit and reward as does fasting itself. (85) For this reason it is customary to invite friends to share in the meal after sunset during Ramadan when the family breaks its fast.

During the rigours of Ramadan the

dervishes are excused the six hours of physical labour which is otherwise required of them each week.(86) In itself this is noteworthy as being the only concession to Ramadan I found in reviewing the Jerrahi sources. It fits in well, however, with the standard Islamic concession that those who are ill or on a journey during the month of Ramadan are excused their fast and should attempt to do the fast at a later date.

It is important to stress that the above occasions on which the individual may postpone his fast are concessions. Unless ill or travelling every Muslim has an obligation to fast. As for one who is under this obligation and yet does not fast: "our Sacred Books tell us that he will die thirsty".(87) There are two points to be noticed here. Firstly, we can note the apparent lack of severity in the consequence of failing to fast. Secondly, we have a reference here to Sacred Books in the plural. While the sources are not specific as to which books these are it seems reasonable to surmise that in addition to the Qur'an the books here referred to are the collections of Canonical traditions (Hadith).

In addition to the above there is an ethical element in Ramadan. During the month one's eyes, ears and mouth should also fast so that one does not hear, see or speak evil.(88)

Just as we saw there were different types of remembrance, dhikr, some more demanding than others, so too there are different types of fast.(89) The first and lowest is where one abstains from food, drink and sexual intercourse between dawn and sunset. 'It is difficult to imagine, we are told, anyone who considers himself a lover and follower of Allah failing to keep even this minimal type of fast. The second type of fast is done by those who not only abstain from the three things above from dawn to sunset, but who also avoid, both by day and by night, uttering hurtful words, looking upon anything unlawful, telling lies, going where Allah does not allow His servants to go, and even harbouring any malice or envy in their hearts. This is the fast of the "elite" of the community: those whose stomachs fast during the days of Ramadan and whose other organs are in a permanent state of fasting. The final type of fast is observed by the "elite of the elite". In addition to the elements

contained in the fast of the "elite", this fast requires that nothing other than Allah should enter into the heart of the believer. Whereas all believers should perform the first type of fast, the second degree is recommended to all dervishes. It is recognised, however, that only a tiny, gifted minority of dervishes will be able to keep the third and most exalted type of fast.

Apart from being excused physical labour as mentioned above, no other concessions are made to the dervish on account of the length of his abstinence from food. This is illustrated by a story of Abu Turab who observed a sufi who had gone without food for three days stretch out his hand to take a watermelon rind from the floor to gain some sustenance from it. The dervish was told: "Tasawwuf is not proper for you. Stick to the market place!". (90) Even after three days the dervish's fast should be as strict as ever.

We saw in the matter of prayer the Jerrahi response was firstly to go beyond the basic requirements by finding inner realities and symbols in prayer, and secondly they performed prayers additional to the obligatory ones. This

same response may be seen with regard to fasting. Above we noted the deepening of fasting into the second and third types, but there are also instructions that the dervish should fast on other days, not just during Ramadan.

The Jerrahis are encouraged to fast on the day of Arife, the eve of the Idd al-Adhha, as it is reported that Muhammed said that anyone fasting on this day would be forgiven all the sins he had committed in the previous year, and all the sins he would commit during the year to come.(91) Another occasion for fasting is the thirteenth to the fifteenth days of the Lunar month.(92) The value of these days is extraordinary: the first day is worth ten thousand years fasting, the second thirty thousand, and the third day is worth one hundred thousand years of fasting.(93) We saw early in this study that Muhammed informed Ali that these three days of fasting were brought by Gabriel as a gift for Ali and his followers. This explains their origin in the Muslim community, but they were also instituted prior to the mission of Muhammed. This came about, we are told, because when Adam first came to this world from Paradise he was so unaccustomed to the harsh

rays of the sun that his skin turned completely black. Gabriel then instructed Adam to fast for these three days in order that his body should turn white again. (94)

Other days upon which the dervish should fast are: (95) the first and last days of the Lunar month, for nine days in the month of Zu'l Hijjah, eleven days in the month of Muharram, and most of the days of the month of Rajab. Some days in the month of Sha'ban should also be fast days, but especially the day of Barat which is the fifteenth of Sha'ban. More than this the dervish could if he were so inclined, spend most of the year in fasting. Most, but not all. There are certain days upon which the dervish is warned that it is unlawful to fast. (96) .. These are the first day of the Feast following the end of the month of Ramadan, and throughout the Feast of Sacrifice, which coincides with the sacrifice made by pilgrims on the annual Hajj. The dervishes are warned that "fasting during these five days is no less sinful than failing to observe the fast during Ramadan". (97)

ALMS GIVING

Another religious obligation of the Muslim is the payment of Alms, money from the Muslim's own wealth which should be distributed among the poorer members of the community. This is regarded by the Jerrahi as the ablution of one's property.(98) Just as the ritual ablution does for the body, so the paying of alms purifies the dervishes wealth and makes it acceptable to Allah.

To pay the alms is an obligation upon all Muslims.(99) If the believer is well-to-do then he should distribute his alms thankfully. If he is poor, then he should give of his hands and time by working for those less fortunate than himself. The strength of the obligation to pay the alms can be seen by the statement reported to have been made by Muhammed that anyone who prays but does not pay his alms will not have his prayers accepted.(100) From a sociological, rather than a religious, point of view the obligation is important as it emphasises the solidarity of the whole community in Islam.

As with other religious acts of the

Jerrahis, the giving of alms does not leave Satan unmoved. When alms are given, we learn, Satan is torn into four pieces.(101) If alms are given in secret, the best way for Jerrahis to fulfil this obligation, then Satan is made to grimace.(102)

The exact amount of alms the Jerrahi should pay is calculated as follows.(103) The first step is for the Jerrahi to reckon the total value of his assets, less his house, car and any property which he uses directly to earn his living. From this sum he should also deduct all his debts and regular out goings. If the dervish's employment is not secure then the out goings for a second year may be deducted. Of the remainder the Jerrahi should distribute two and one half per cent to the poor. The dervish is not permitted to give alms to his close kin.(104)

For the Jerrahi there is a particular understanding of alms giving which relates to their belief in the absolute sovereignty of God and in Allah's ownership of everything. The Jerrahi is encouraged to reflect on whose money is being distributed.(105) The rich are merely Allah's stewards, and the poor only His

dependents. Thus there is no room for pride on the part of the giver - it is only that Allah's money is passing from Allah's stewards to Allah's dependents. This, the Jerrahi must learn, is the true meaning of giving alms.

HAJJ

The Hajj, Pilgrimage to Mecca with its attendant rituals, is one of the five Pillars of Islam. It is thus no surprise that the Sheikh insisted to me that the Hajj was Farz - translated in the Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary as "an obligatory act" and a "binding duty". It is further declared to be an obligation for all who fulfill eight criteria:(106) if you are a) a Muslim, b) in good mental health, c) in good physical health, d) an adult, e) free, f) have sufficient means, g) have sufficient wealth to care for your dependants during your absence, and h) if you know Hajj is an obligation, then you must perform the Pilgrimage at least once during your life. As we have seen so often, however, the Jerrahis insist that there are things more important than the mere ritual: "to enliven one heart is more important than going around the

Ka'aba one thousand times.(107)

In order for a Pilgrimage to be valid four conditions must be fulfilled.(108) The first necessary condition is Islam. Unless one belongs to the religion one cannot hope to perform the Hajj in any real sense. One must have access to the Sacred Places, Mount Arafat and the Ka'aba, and be within the Sacred Time, that period each year set aside for the performance of the Pilgrimage. Finally one must be in the state of Ihram or ritual purity. This state is achieved by taking a total ablution, cutting one's fingernails, the face must be shaved and the moustache clipped and one should wear two pieces of unsewn white cloth in place of ordinary clothes.

As with other ritual acts we have looked at, so Hajj is said to have a detrimental effect on Satan. In this case it is said that when Muslims meet on the Hajj it causes Satan to go mad: "I lose my wits".(109) Yet this is dependent upon the rectitude of those performing

the Hajj as without good moral character it is said that there is no merit in going on the Pilgrimage.(110) This reminds us that the Hajj is not the real journey which should interest the Jerrahi. For the dervish "the real voyage on the path is to go away from one's...lower self".(111)

Special instructions are given for women performing the Pilgrimage. This is especially necessary as both Turkish women and the American female converts to the Jerrahis would be used to a less strict environment than is to be found during the Hajj in Saudi Arabia.(112) Women wishing to attend the Pilgrimage must first find a suitable man they can accompany. Ideally the man should be the woman's husband, but if this is not possible then her male companion should be someone with whom she may not legally be married. It is however noted that Shafi'i, the famous jurist, allows that a female Pilgrim may be accompanied by two or more dependable women if no suitable male companion can be found. When entering the state of Ihram, women are not required to wear the two pieces of unsewn cloth. They should wear their normal clothes but ensure that their hands and

feet remain covered. Women who begin menstruating while on the Pilgrimage may perform all the duties save for the circumambulation of the Ka'aba.

Entrance into the state of Ihram at the beginning of the Hajj must be preceded by a declaration of intent:

I intend to perform the Hajj for Allah's sake and enter Ihram. My Lord, make it possible for me and accept it from me. (113)

Once in Ihram, and as often as possible while on the Hajj, the Dervish is instructed to recite the Talbiya, as follows:

I am present, my Lord, I am present. I am present. There is none like You. I am present. All grace to You. All good from You. All kingdoms are Yours. There is no equal to You. (114)

In addition to matters of a ritual nature there are certain social rules the Pilgrims are instructed to follow. They may not marry, have sexual intercourse, kiss or talk lightly with their wives. Men may not cover their heads or faces. All must refrain from hunting and must not kill any living thing or tread on green grass. Fingernails and hair must not be cut during the Pilgrimage. It is permitted to shelter beneath

an umbrella or in a building, but only provided these do not come into contact with the head.(115)

Regarding the internal dimensions of the Pilgrimage, the Jerrahis are told of the story of Shibli, who questioned a returning Pilgrim upon the events of the Hajj. Shibli asked the Sufi about his recitation of the intention to perform the Pilgrimage:

With your intention and decision to do the Hajj, were you able to cancel all decisions you had taken which were contrary to this decision, since the day you were born?(116)

When the Pilgrim replied that he had been unable to do this, Shibli informed him that in that case he had failed, in fact, to make his intention to perform the Pilgrimage.

Similarly for the recitation of the Talbiyya. Shibli asks:

When you recited the Talbiyya...did you receive an answer, a call from Allah?(117)

When the Pilgrim again answered in the negative, Shibli insisted that the Pilgrim had not recited the Talbiyya.

The conversation continues with Shibli questioning the Pilgrim closely on every aspect of the Hajj. One more of his questions must suffice. The Pilgrim is asked whether he went up to Mount Arafat. Shibli then asks if the Pilgrim gained certain knowledge on this part of his journey:

Did you come to know how and why you were created, and where you are going to go? Did you come to know who is your Lord, that Lord whom you deny? Has Allah showed you a sign that you were one of the chosen?(118)

The Pilgrim admits that he did not achieve any of this. In that case, Shibli informs the hapless Pilgrim, he had not really been to Arafat.

In this way, every aspect of the Pilgrimage is given an importance beyond the mere ritual performance of certain prescribed acts. The Jerrahi must do the things laid down in the rituals, but he must go beyond these rules. He must go deeper.

JIHAD

Jihad, or Holy War, stands outside the five Pillars of Islam but has often been regarded

or proposed by Muslims as a sixth pillar. Whether or not it is regarded as a sixth Pillar, Jihad is certainly understood by a majority of Muslims to be a religious obligation analogous to prayer and fasting, if somewhat less regular.

The Halveti-Jerrahi share with their fellow Muslims a belief in the importance of the Jihad. They hold that what breaks Satan's heart is: "the determination and the firm footsteps of those who march against the enemies of Allah for Allah's sake".(119) This reflects merely the common understanding of Jihad, namely that it is a war waged against the unbelieving enemies of Islam until they are overcome, or until they submit and accept Islam. Muslims who die while on Jihad will be rewarded with a place in Paradise: "to die in Jihad is the greatest of honours".(120)

The Jerrahis make an explicit distinction between the war-like behaviour expected of the believer in Jihad, and the gentler and more tender image more usually presented of Muhammed. They tell us that: "Those who are honoured to follow the...gentlest of Prophets are the fiercest warriors against the tyranny of the

nonbelievers over the believers".(121) This also points to the important fact that those who are not Muslims, even if they should be in the majority, are to be considered second-class citizens, and must not be allowed to rule over a population of believers.

When considering prayer, fasting and the Hajj it became clear that the Jerrahi were consistently required to go beyond that which was demanded of them by the law of Islam. The demands were internalised, transformed from being ritual acts to ethical requirements. It will come as no surprise to learn that a similar tendency is evident concerning the Jihad. Jerrahis are told that there are two kinds of Jihad: the small one with enemies of Islam on the outside and the greater Jihad on the inside, against oneself".(122) The "self" which is to be fought against in this way is the nafs, the lower self from which the dervish is trying to liberate himself in the hope of attaining union with God. This Holy War, this Jihad, is more important and meritorious than the external Jihad:

the Prophet...has said that the greatest battle is the one with one's own ego [sic. nafs] and one's own Devil, and the greatest victory is the one won over

one's own faithlessness. (123)

This greater Jihad, the struggle against the nafs, or Ego, is the essence of the Sufi Path and has already been discussed in our treatment of that subject.

A NOTE ON KNOWLEDGE

It is essential for a dervish to rectify and control his attitude and his behaviour towards men of learning. The correct attitude towards the wise and the knowledgeable is one of respect and obedience, resisting the "Satanic" impulse to argue or disagree with them. (124) The gathering of men of knowledge and their discussions with one another prevent Satan from tormenting and testing humankind. (125)

If knowledge is to be admired in others, it is equally a thing which one should seek to possess oneself. But both in oneself and in others, the possession of knowledge itself is not sufficient. For knowledge to have any validity it must be used as a guide and basis for action: "knowledge is knowledge only when it is used and lived". (126) One who does not act upon his

knowledge, despite acquiring a familiarity with many books, is said to be like a donkey merely carrying heavy books upon his back.(127) Men of knowledge, however, who act upon their learning and decline to accept all that is doubtful are one of the groups detested by Satan.(128)

The dervish's knowledge, like that of all other Muslims, should be grounded in the learning and wisdom of others well respected in the Islamic community. The Jerrahis are instructed on this subject to follow the advice given by Imam Jafer who holds that one should: "escape as if running from a Lion from passing a judgement based on one's own opinion as what is right or wrong for somebody else".(129) This has the effect of emphasising the importance of maintaining a continuity with the Islamic tradition which we have also seen in the importance of providing a silsila, chain of initiators, to the leaders and founders of Sufi orders, and of attaching an isnad, chain of transmitters, to a tradition about the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammed.

Just as Muhammed is of central

importance in the traditions reporting his sayings and in the spiritual chains linking sufi orders back to him, so he has an important place in the growth of knowledge. Muhammed is called Jami, the one in whom all knowledge is gathered. (130) This appellation could well be the cause of some difficulty, as the notion of omniscience which this suggests is in apparent conflict with the Muslim insistence that Muhammed is simply a prophet, albeit the last and greatest prophet, of God for the notion of omniscience to many minds would imply the idea of Divinity. Yet Muhammed himself stressed that he was in no sense divine, he was a Messenger from God, not God Himself.

The knowledge possessed by Muhammed, like that which may be obtained by the wise and learned among the Muslim community, is ultimately derived from Allah. Allah is called the All Knowing and the Absolutely Wise, and all knowledge comes from Him. (131) That which does not derive from Allah cannot, by definition, be true knowledge.

Not only is Allah regarded as the source and repository of all knowledge, He is also

understood to be the original focus of man's natural desire to acquire knowledge. It is held that all mankind lives with a desire for knowledge about the Creator and their place in the total creation.(132) This is the only truly legitimate motive and product of knowledge, that the knowledgeable should have a close understanding of the creation and their place in it, and of the Creator and their relationship with Him.

Once knowledge has been acquired, it is that which distinguishes between the believer and the non-believer. For the believer knows about the true nature of the world and its Creator, and of the individual's relationship with them. This distinguishes the Muslim from the non-believer and places him under an obligation to all those without the knowledge he possesses. The believer has a religious obligation to inform the non-believer about the true nature of things, and about Allah in particular.(133)

This does not imply that religion may be considered an intellectual pursuit, certainly not primarily so. There are two "divine lights" in religion; intellect and faith.(134) Intellect,

whether it be knowledge or wisdom, is as nothing if it is without faith. For not only is faith necessary, it is primary. Faith, it is said, is the school wherein Allah teaches the faithful believer divine wisdom and knowledge.(135)

There are two kinds of limitation placed upon the human intellect, one of which is due to the nature of the intellect itself, the other due to religious injunction. The first limit is summarised in a statement warning that: "The works of Allah cannot be measured or grasped by the mind".(136) The second limit is placed upon the intellect and is not innate to it, this tells us what the intellect may not do. It is founded upon the understanding that there are types of knowledge which are unnecessary for mankind's existence and religious development.(137) In Islam, the Jerrahi is told, it is not obligatory to acquire such unnecessary knowledge.(138) Some of these areas of knowledge may even be detrimental to faith, such as astrology, alchemy and philosophy or dialectics.(139) In addition to these areas detrimental to faith, there are subjects which the Jerrahi is forbidden to learn or to teach, such as magic, divination and fortune

telling. (140)

Three types of knowledge are said to be discernible. The first is knowledge of the divine, and the second is knowledge concerning the origin, function and usefulness of the material world. The third type of knowledge is concerned with the occult, and is regarded by the Jerrahis as useful "to neither this world or the Hereafter". (141) We are reminded that it is unlawful, in Islam, to be ignorant of that knowledge which is necessary for one's spiritual and physical well-being. (142) This obligation, then, refers to only the first and second types of knowledge enumerated above.

It is reported that Muhammed said that "to seek knowledge is an obligation for every Muslim man and woman". (143) This is particularly interesting, emphasising as it does that while women may occupy an apparently inferior position in Islamic social and legal teachings, nevertheless they are obliged along with men to have a sound knowledge of their religion. So this obligation applies equally to both sexes.

It is also reported that Muhammed said that "no one worships Allah better than the one who works in acquiring religious knowledge for Allah's sake".(144) Muhammed is said to have gone on to report that those learned in religious affairs are a thousand times more fearful to the Devil than the man who is merely devout. The pillar of religion, he concludes is the true scholar. Interestingly here knowledge, rather than faith or devotion, is regarded as the support of religion, and that the learned man is felt to be of more worth in the fight against the Devil than is the devout man. It is rare in religious circles for the intellectualist tradition to be regarded as having the upper hand in this way, but there are special reasons for the high regard with which learning is had within Islam. The mainstream of Islam is occupied not by theology, but by the law. Whereas a devout background may suffice in certain types of theology, in law learning is more important than devotion. The aspiring lawyer must have a sound knowledge of the written sources from which the law is derived, but also of past decisions of learned jurists which are held to have set a precedent. This need for practical and applied learning at the heart of

Islam can in some measure account for the prominence given to acquiring knowledge in the Jerrahi sources.

Hasan of Basra, who was discussed in the chapter on the history of the order, gives the following advice about knowledge, according to the Jerrahi sources.(145) Knowledge, he advises, does not come as a result of learning, but is a gift from Allah. One should seek knowledge with the intention of putting it into action as soon as one possesses it and pray that all one's actions might be in accordance with that knowledge. The fact that knowledge is regarded here as something given by God and not something acquired by the individual reminds us of the recurring theme of the way man can do nothing by himself. All that man has, and not just his knowledge, comes from Allah. The Jerrahis are also advised to attempt to learn what they need to know from those who already possess the required knowledge.(146) The sources go on to warn that the question one asks of these learned men should not be put in such a way, or with the intention, to test them in any

way.

What a Muslim must have, above all, is knowledge of the law so as to know what Allah has forbidden and what He has enjoined, along with knowledge of what the sources refer to as morality: by which they mean knowledge which will allow the dervish to make an informed choice between types of behaviour. This would entail, for example, being able to choose gentleness rather than anger as a response to a situation.(147) There is a grave danger that without such knowledge the Muslim would find himself doing things which Allah had forbidden, or not doing things which Allah had commanded.(148) Beyond knowing what is lawful and unlawful, this need for learning stretches to being aware of one's voluntary duties in addition to one's obligations, and also to knowing what is clean and unclean.(149)

Knowledge of what is good and right, and love for these things, is the basis of good conduct - adab.(150) It is only those who have this knowledge who may find the truth, and do what is right.

With such importance given to learning and knowledge it will come as no surprise that the Jerrahis are given quite explicit guidance on this matter. (151) The dervish must learn three things every day. Which things are learned will depend on the wishes and needs of the dervishes, and upon their individual natures. Any three things which the dervish did not know before may be learned, so long as they are learned in such a way that they are never again forgotten. The Jerrahi may learn three ayat, verses, from the Qur'an or if this is too difficult then three words from a single ayat may be learned. Alternatively, the dervish may learn how to hammer in a nail, or how to boil an egg, knowledge which will enable the dervish to perform his obligations to assist others.

Anyone who delves deeply into the world of religious learning, and this will include the Jerrahis, will come across occasions on which the scholars of religion differ on certain matters. The Jerrahis are advised not to be distressed or anxious about this. Such divergence of opinions, the dervishes are told, is just apparent: scholars may disagree on the surface, but in

essence they are in agreement with one another. (152) This reassurance may itself be apparent rather than real, as it does not assist the Jerrahis to discern what is the essence upon which all the scholars and theologians agree.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TEACHING

It may have been possible so far to have gained the impression that Sufism as expounded by the Jerrahis is simply a matter of religious devotion and knowledge, but this is far from the case. My contacts among the Jerrahis were most keen to emphasise that the dervish could not and should not detach himself from the world. As the Jerrahi sources put it: "Sufism is not words but action, and action in Sufism is service".(1) It is explained that the involvement of the dervish in social affairs is an action like that of someone who sees a blind man moving towards a precipice, and intervenes in an effort to avert disaster.

THE FAMILY

The sources furnish the Jerrahi dervish with advice concerning their relations with their parents, children, spouses and other relatives.

There are two reasons for outlining these teachings here. Firstly because the way the dervish is to treat his family is of intrinsic interest, and secondly because there is an implication that such behaviour is to extend beyond the family to include all those sharing the dervish's faith. As we are told: "kinship is not a matter of flesh and blood but of common faith".(2)

Much effort must be devoted by the individuals concerned to creating and maintaining loving families. Apart from a loving family being a source of aid and support to the individual Muslim, it is a thing which is detested by Satan.(3)

It is reported on the authority of Muhammed that there are two groups who are unworthy of Allah's mercy on the Night of Power, when Allah may forgive men's sins. These are, firstly, those who cut themselves off from others and neglect to visit their relatives and friends, and secondly, those who are unloving, disobedient and disrespectful to their parents.(4) Only if an individual is approved of and accepted by his

mother in particular may he enter Paradise.(5)
This clearly represents a serious problem for an individual one or both of whose parents die dissatisfied with him. In such a circumstance the individual is recommended to make supplication and ask God's forgiveness for his parents, recite the Qur'an for the sake of his parents' souls, and give alms to the poor in order that in this way he might pay off the debt he owes his parents.(6)

Without the approval of their parents children are forbidden to go on the Pilgrimage.(7)

This is reminiscent of the way in which no dervish is permitted to go on any journey without first obtaining the permission of his sheikh. This similarity was made explicit when the sheikh explained to one of the dervishes: "I am your mother and your father".

One must not think of good behaviour towards parents and relatives as being a secular matter. It is directly related not just to religion, but to worship. It is said that even if a person is far from being devout in his worship of Allah, yet if he is obedient and makes his parents happy then Allah in turn will be happy

with him.(8)

Our parents brought us into the world, cared for and looked after us, teaching us what we needed to know, and for this we should be grateful. In order to show our gratitude to parents, whether they be living or dead, we should follow the five daily prayers with supplications for our parents pardon and forgiveness. Our duties to our parents include our having an obligation to visit their friends and their friends' children. Showing kindness and visiting our parents' friends is said, on the authority of Muhammed, to be equivalent to visiting and showing kindness to our parents themselves.(9)

Allah makes it an obligation on Muslims to show affection, kindness and obedience towards their parents. Equally it is forbidden for anyone to ill-treat or abuse their parents.(10) Those who treat their parents well will die in faith, and obedience to parents is a cause for salvation.(11) We cannot and must not show the same obedience and affection for other people as for our parents, and while we should obey them this only applies to injunctions which are

legitimate and reasonable.(12) Generosity to his mother on the part of the dervish is equivalent to obedience to Allah,(13) and kindness to one's parents is said to be an act of worship.(14)

As regards worship, it is stressed that a son may not act as prayer leader for his father, and that one may not sit in a higher position than that occupied by one's parents. When attending a religious gathering one must not sit before one's parents are seated. One must not begin to eat before they do. Nor is it permissible for one to speak more loudly than one's parents.(15) In ways such as this the individual must defer and show respect to his parents.

One does not only have duties to one's parents, however. It is also an obligation of good conduct, adab, for there to be mutual respect between a man and his wife, and for parents to love, care for and guide their children.(16) Before going further into the treatment of children, a little may be said of the relationship between a man and his wife.

The Jerrahis are advised that if a

marriage is to last, then certain conditions must be fulfilled.(17) To begin with it is important that in the couple wishing to marry the girl is the younger and the man the richer of the two. It is said to be preferable if the girl is better looking than the man. The girl should be more chaste than her future husband, though no Jerrahi would suggest that a man should become unchaste in order to give his future marriage a better chance of success. The man's lineage, however, should be superior to that of his future bride. Both should believe firmly in Allah, His Messengers, the Resurrection and the Hereafter. This would effectly prevent the dervish from marrying a non-Muslim, although orthodox Islam allows a Muslim male to marry a Jew or a Christian. Finally, a bride must respect her husband's relatives and love everything which belongs to him. Similarly, a truly loving husband will love everything connected with his wife for her sake.

While it is accepted that it is desirable that a married couple should love one another, an individual has no right to demand that his or her spouse should feel love and affection for them.(18) This is particularly important as

it used to be the norm for a woman to be given little or no choice about whom she married. To demand love or affection from one's spouse is specifically unlawful, according to the Jerrahis, for that is considered equal to forcing the spouse to lie. Just as one cannot be forced to love someone, so the dervish is reminded that one cannot compel oneself to feel love for another person.

Though the Jerrahis are sufficiently realistic to recognise that problems do occur in marriage they have no real sympathy when these problems are caused by the unfaithful conduct of one or other of the parties. The adulterer, they say, is Satan's best friend.(19) If a couple just talk about divorce, only once, then we are told in the view of Allah the marriage vows have become void. If the parties subsequently sleep together they are committing adultery.(20) This is not intended to discourage reconciliations in marriage, but to argue in favour of constant vigilance to guard against those actions and words which might make a reconciliation necessary. Divorce, we are told, is one of the things which pleases Satan most.(21)

For those married Jerrahis who have children some mention is made of the status and value of daughters as opposed to sons. (22) It is pointed out that a female child is a blessing and that although some individuals have been disappointed in their wives at the birth of a daughter rather than a son, such an attitude is "unbefitting". Further, the Jerrahi is instructed to treat his daughters even more kindly than he treats his sons. They are advised that Islamic etiquette stipulates that when they bring something home for their children they must first give to the girls, and only then may they give to the boys.

As regards all children, both male and female, the Jerrahis are left in no doubt as to the extent of their responsibility. Just as a provincial governor is responsible to the central government for matters affecting his province, so the dervish is responsible to Allah for matters relating to his children and other dependants. On the day of the Last Judgement, the individual will be called upon to account for all these blessings entrusted to him. (23)

Parents also have an obligation to teach their children about this world and the next. Those who neglect to fulfil this obligation are guilty of a sin even worse than that of killing their children, for they condemn them to "degradation, misfortune and abasement" in the world, and bar their way into the Hereafter.(24) In particular the Jerrahis are instructed to teach their children the rules and norms of religion and good behaviour, and to avoid instilling in them a love of the world.(25)

The Jerrahis are warned not to be ill-tempered towards their children, but rather to be smiling, tender and soft-spoken with them.(26) They are doubtless encouraged towards this particular attitude by a distinctive understanding of the nature of misbehaviour in children. Naughtiness in children, according to this understanding, is a manifestation of the sinfulness of the parents.(27) While it is recognised that there may be, unspecified, exceptions to this general rule, it is stressed that the above would be the case ninety nine per cent of the time.

Another particular duty of parents towards their children is to find suitable partners for them when they reach marriageable age. Any parents who fail to do this will have to bear responsibility for half the sin which the children's passions subsequently lead them into if they remain unmarried. (28)

The mother is said to have more rights over her children than the father, (29) but certain instructions are given specifically on the relationship between children and their father. (30) The father is said to owe it to his children to earn a living by lawful means, to eat only lawful foods and not to engage in unlawful extra-marital relationships. Children have a right to expect that their father would have chosen to marry a girl from a good family. They can also expect that their father would feed, clothe and support their mother in a lawful manner. When a child is born its father has a duty to recite the Call to Prayer into its right ear, and the signal for the commencement of prayer into its left. The father should see to it that the child receives a beautiful name, and when the

baby is one week old the father must have a sheep sacrificed, shave the baby's head and distribute the weight of the hair in gold as alms to the poor. The child has a right to expect that the father will provide it with lawful food and, in the case of a boy, that he will have him circumcised at the proper time.

When a child reaches the age of four years, four months and four days, the father has a duty to teach the child the Qur'an, or to provide a teacher for this purpose. More generally the father has a duty to encourage his children to study, and to teach them some practical skills. The father must carefully scrutinise the friendships formed by his children. When children reach the age of seven, the father has a duty to ensure that they begin to perform the prayers and keep the fast. Fathers also have a duty to ensure that their children find a suitable teacher from whom they may learn perfection and wisdom (the Sufi way).

Moreover the teachings about children are extended to include orphans, thus echoing a frequent concern in Islamic teaching about the

family. The Jerrahis are reminded that just as they must be kind, considerate and loving towards their own children, so must they behave towards orphans. This, they are told, is "one of the highest commands of our religion".(31)

WOMEN

Other than as wives, mothers and daughters, women receive no attention in the Jerrahi sources. No general teaching is offered on the role of women in society beyond the confines of the family. This is clearly significant, yet it is also misleading since it might lead one to suspect that here we had a sufi order whose female followers would be conservative both religiously and socially. There is no evidence to support this. It is true that the women who attend the tekke cover their heads, their arms to below the elbow and their legs to below the knee.(32) Only exceptionally however will you find a woman dressed in the long rain coat and headscarf traditionally favoured by the more conservative of Istanbul's Muslim women.

The headscarves worn in the tekke should

not be overstated as a symbol of traditionalism among Jerrahi women. This form of head gear is nothing more than would be expected of a female western tourist visiting the mosques of Istanbul. Indeed, unlike more conservative women, the Jerrahis make no attempt to wear the headscarf in such a way as to hide every trace of their hair.

The position as regards the rest of their apparel is similar. After dark the vast majority of women out and about in Istanbul cover their arms to below the elbow and their legs to below the knee. Yet for the majority of Jerrahis the clothes they wear in this way are western, rather than traditional Turkish, in style and are of good quality.

Regarding the wider social position of Jerrahi women no safe generalisations may be made. While some stay in the home others go out to work.

There is no clear preponderance of one position over the other.

Within the tekke, as we have seen, women occupy a place behind a screen in the main room where the dhikr takes place. This separation

bears no great significance as it is the same situation one would expect to find in a mosque. Before the dhikr women share a meal, say their prayers, and socialise with one another just as the men do in their room. Western women are sometimes admitted to the Sheikh's table for meals along with the prominent menfolk.

OTHER PEOPLE IN GENERAL

In his dealings with people other than his family a dervish should be generous with both his help and his advice.(33) This applies equally to those who are his neighbours, and to those he does not know.(34) In particular the dervish must show compassion in loving and helping those younger than himself, and should show respect for those who are older than himself.(35)

As one may expect, however, this is not done for the sake of the particular other person in question, but as with all else the dervish should do these things for the sake of Allah.(36)

Yet if a true relationship demands an

element of reciprocity, then the dervish's aid to others will not constitute such a relationship, for the dervish is instructed to be reliant upon himself and Allah, and not upon his fellow men. This may be viewed in two ways. To begin with the dervish is instructed to be self-reliant in order that he should not be a burden to others. He should also possess various skills and abilities, in addition to degrees and academic qualifications, so that in any eventuality he will be able to fend for himself without having to ask for help from others.(37) If one asks for assistance from the creature, rather than from the Creator, the Jerrahi is told, then one will become dependent upon them and they will become as tyrants to govern one's life.(38) Thus if one were to draw up a balance sheet for the individual Jerrahi, it would ideally show that he had contributed greatly to society, but had taken little or nothing from it.

The Jerrahi should be a person of good moral character. Unless he possesses this attribute there is no merit in his performing the prayers, fasting, giving alms to the poor or going on the Pilgrimage to Mecca.(39) He should treat

everyone well and have compassion for every creature.(40) Particularly the dervish should never be tyrannical or hurt people.(41) All creatures should be safe from the hand and the tongue of the dervish and should receive nothing but good from him.(42) If the Jerrahi cannot say anything kind about someone, then he is advised that it is best to say nothing.(43) These injunctions should not only apply to dervishes, the sources warn, but are rules for the conduct of all Muslims.(44) Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak invites the Jerrahis to: "Do as you would be done by in the world. As you sow, so shall you reap".(45)

Great stress is laid on the need for truthfulness: "A lover [Sufi] does not lie, is always truthful and advises truthfulness".(46) It would not be difficult to imagine occasions upon which this injunction was in conflict with the need to do other people no harm and to say nothing of others if one cannot be kind about them. Yet the injunction to advise truthfulness provides the clue here. The Jerrahi in common with all Muslims has a duty to advise people to do what is good and to warn and forbid them to do what is wrong. This injunction appears to take

precedence over the advice above to be kind at all times and to be silent if one can say nothing good about a person. It is a tacit recognition that if one is to advise people to do what is good, then sometimes it is necessary to be unkind, for the person's ultimate good. If others are to be assisted to do right, then sometimes they must be told truths which are painful.

Most important in establishing the moral conduct of the Jerrahi is the caution that: "All existence should be pleased with the dervish". (47) In the history of Sufism there have arisen groups who attached no significance to the opinion in which they were held by Muslim society at large. This enabled them to follow courses of action contrary to Islamic law as they were unconcerned with the opprobrium which followed upon their illegal or immoral acts. The Jerrahis on the other hand are told that they should be well thought of by the rest of Islamic society. So this concern with the opinions of others served to prevent the development of immoral or antinomian practices or attitudes among the dervishes of this order.

What has been said so far of the dervish's relations with other people has been based on the supposition that the others in question were at best good or at worst ethically ambivalent. If we are considering the relations of the dervish with people considered bad, then different rules apply. Jerrahis are instructed not to communicate with bad people but to avoid, at the same time, thinking of themselves as better than them.(48) The intention of the warning not to think of oneself as better than the bad person is simply a warning against the dangers of ethical and spiritual pride. Rather than simply not communicating with bad people the dervish is advised to go further and to avoid associating with those who do not share his beliefs and actions, and who are against his faith.(49) In practice, however, this is interpreted very loosely. A very strict interpretation would isolate the Jerrahi dervish from the Muslim population as a whole as the finer points of Jerrahi teaching, particularly with regard to the Sufi path, would not be shared by all Muslims. More than this it would prevent the kind of open hospitality the Jerrahi show to non-Muslims from Europe and America who visit their tekke.

Despite the liberal interpretation of the above injunction in these cases, where a bad or immoral person is concerned then the Jerrahi is advised and encouraged to implement his separation from that person rigorously.

Even when considering an immoral person, however, there is still an exception to the injunction to separate oneself from bad people. This arises in the case of someone, known to be bad, in whom the Jerrahi notices some potential for salvation. In this case the dervish's duty to aid others on the Path to Allah overrides his duty to separate himself from those who are deemed to be bad. The Jerrahi must befriend this person and help him to achieve his potential for salvation. (50)

WESTERNERS

During my visits with the Jerrahis I was often not the only Westerner there. Some of these visitors were interested in Islam as a personal faith. Some were interested in aspects of Turkish culture and custom. Yet others were simply tourists who, by one means or another, had

come to see the ceremonies in the tekke. What these visitors had in common, with one another and with myself, was the warmth and sincerity of our welcome.

The reason for this goes deeper than the traditional middle eastern attitude which sees hospitality as a virtue. The Jerrahis follow the example set by many sufi orders in the history of Islam in seeking to make converts from outside Islam. The order has two branches in the United States, and is always keen to lead Westerners to Islam. This does not, however, take the form of the kind of strident evangelism and proselytising common among some Christian groups in the West. It is for Allah, after all, to guide whoever He will to Islam. All the Jerrahis can do, and they do it in an unassuming and undemanding way, is to talk of their beliefs in the hope that the individual will, for his part, turn towards Allah.

I asked a number of my informants if any dispensations or concessions were made to Western converts who joined the Order. As expected they generally insisted that in fact no concessions were made. Only two instances were mentioned,

and those by only very few of my contacts, where Westerners were allowed to do things differently.

The first of these involved the use of Arabic. It was emphasised to me that Arabic was the language of the Qur'an and that it was important for the dervish to be able to read the Qur'an in its original language. For Westerners, however, it was permissible to read the Qur'an in English merely reciting a transliterated version of the Arabic during ritual prayers. Without questioning the sincerity of my informant it must be emphasised that this is not so great a concession as it may seem. My informant's statement seems to suggest that all the Turkish members of the order could read and understand Arabic, a situation which is far from the truth.

The other concession mentioned to me was in connection with the physical movements of the ritual prayers. I was told that as these movements could prove quite taxing on the muscles of Westerners unused to them, converts to Islam who joined the Jerrahis were permitted to perform the prayers while omitting or simplifying these

movements as necessary. I can only report that as all the Westerners I saw performing the prayers did so in the usual way I am unable to confirm or contradict my informant's remarks on this occasion.

It would be of great interest to study in detail how the Jerrahi order is received by Westerners and what concessions if any are made to the orders Western adherents. As I have been unable to visit the branches of the order in the United States I have been unable to study this question at first hand and must leave it as a tantalising and inviting area for further study.

POLITICAL TEACHING

Islam offers its followers not only a set of religious teachings and rituals, but also a comprehensive set of instructions and injunctions covering every aspect of the believer's life. This includes political matters, and considerable scholarly attention has been given in recent years to Islamic political thought. The Jerrahi are no exception to this general statement, and offer some explicitly political teachings to the

dervishes.

The Jerrahis are told that politicians govern by the will of Allah, and are selected to reflect the attributes of the nation.(51) If a nation is good and virtuous, then so will its government be. This teaching is less easy to live with under a tyrannical government, but is no less valid: "whenever a nation strays and becomes corrupt, Allah makes it subject to a tyrannical ruler".(52) In such cases the tyranny suffered is to be understood as the result of previous or present wrong-doing. This leads to the injunction that a Jerrahi "should not speak against...the people who govern...and should consider all misfortunes as his own doing".(53)

This injunction to accept all governments, whether good or bad, as one's just deserts should not be taken to mean that good and bad governments are all as one to the Jerrahi. The dervish is warned specifically to shun tyrants, being warned that those who "become servants of tyrants, ...are bound to be miserable, disgraced, abased in both this world and in the hereafter".(54) Even if they do not become

servants, those who keep company with tyrants are not considered worthy to call themselves dervishes.(55)

Worse than keeping the company of tyrants, is to behave in a tyrannical fashion oneself. The Jerrahi is instructed to forsake all forms of tyranny if he wishes for dignity in this world and the next with an easy and painless death between the two.(56) Tyrannical behaviour is in this respect equal to disbelief in disqualifying the dervish from the above desirable states.

One of the distinguishing marks of a true dervish is that he is never tyrannical towards anyone.(57) To be a tyrant oneself or to condone or assist tyranny in others are two items on a list of the sixty eight blemishes of the soul.(58) As we have seen in earlier sections the aim of the dervish is to eradicate these blemishes on his soul or nafs. Tyrants in fact, the Jerrahi is informed, are distinguished by the blindness with which they follow their own desires.(59) In addition to being egotists, tyrants are regarded as the friends of Satan.(60)

Though Allah may employ a tyrant to punish a wayward people as noted above, Allah will offer tyrants no aid.(61) The unwitting work which tyrants do for Allah is not reciprocated by the Almighty doing anything for the tyrants, for Allah "is the Helper of the beneficent and righteous".(62) Thus it might be said that the tyrants were foolish, as all along they serve their nafs instead of Allah, but at the same time are being used by Allah rather than being assisted by Him.

In the face of tyranny the Jerrahi is strongly encouraged to take a quietist rather than a rebellious stance. This is not merely the response of a coward in the face of strength, but should be understood as the patience of virtue in the face of evil. In this way the dervish will imitate the Prophet Muhammed who is called Muduaththir: "the one who covers himself over with patience towards those who tyrannise him".(63)

Patience here is very much the right

word, not resignation, for the prospect of deliverance from tyrannical governments is held out to the dervish. Seeing tyrants as a means adopted by Allah for the punishment of mankind it is stressed that what the dervish must do to be rid of a tyrant is to correct his own deficiencies. If the believers in the country adopt the true morality of the Qur'an and of Muhammed, then Allah will replace a tyrannical government with one based upon justice.(64) The ultimate removal of a tyrant is brought about by his death. We are told that Azra'il, the Angel of Death, is happy to take the soul of cruel tyrants, knowing that only in this way could people be delivered from the tyranny.(65)

For the tyrant, even death has a new meaning. Far from being the gateway leading to Union with Allah, for tyrants there is only a union with the Fire (of Hell).(66) Not only the meaning but even the manner of death is transformed for tyrants. Perpetrators of tyranny can expect to die extremely painful, fearful and tragic deaths.(67) In both these passages tyrants are again shown to suffer the same fate as unbelievers, the equation of the two clearly

carrying the implication that tyrannical and oppressive governments are, by definition, un-Islamic governments.

Even in the grave the suffering of tyrants (and unbelievers) is not over. (68) While waiting for the resurrection on the Day of Judgement they will be exposed to the Fire of Hell every morning and every evening. Even the Last Day brings no respite, for then they will enter the Fire completely, to dwell in it for eternity.

In contrast to the amount of teaching associated with tyranny there is but little mention of the nature of good government. What can be said is that a good government is depicted in much the same ways as a good individual. We have seen the importance attached by the Jerrahis to the service of others, this is applied to governments also. In government: "the one who is a servant when he is a sultan is the...Perfect Man". (69)

Whether the rulers at a certain time be good or bad the true dervish should place no reliance upon them. (70) To trust in and rely

upon rulers will only distract the Jerrahi from the true focus of trust which is Allah. If one seeks the aid or protection of a ruler one is relying on the creature instead of the Creator, and is perilously close to the sin of shirk, assigning partners to Allah. (71)

In addition to governments, an important influence upon people in this world is wealth, and as this forms part of the centre of political debate, Jerrahi teachings on the subject may be noted here. We are told that one of the groups hated by Satan are: "the patient poor, who neither ask from others the things they need, nor complain". (72) Thus the Jerrahis are encouraged to accept patiently their lot in life, just as they were with regard to tyrannical governments. This should not be taken, however, to imply that the Jerrahis have attached some romantic virtue to poverty. What is important is where the Jerrahi's heart belongs, not how much wealth he does or does not possess. Though a person may own all this world has to offer, he is no worldly materialist if he does not forget Allah but serves Him with true devotion. On the contrary, such a one, regardless of his wealth, is said to be God's

beloved servant and a true member of the community
of Muhammed.(73) Wealth is only evil or
undesirable in so far as it is allowed to come
between the Jerrahi and Allah.

CHAPTER NINE

SUFI ORDERS AND SOCIOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

The study of religion within the social sciences has led to the formation of a number of categories into which religious organisations may be fitted. One may well ask, then, to which of these categories Sufi Orders belong.

In speaking of these categories of religious organisations sociologists are dealing in ideal types. The characteristics of any ideal type will not necessarily be present in any historical example of that type. Rather than dealing with descriptions of actual instances we are dealing with concepts. These conceptualisations are points along a continuum to which actual examples will approximate. We are looking, then, for the term which offers the closest fit for the Sufi Order, not for a term which matches exactly all the features of the order.

We would also be wise to remember that all such typologies are drawn up with reference to a particular aspect of a religious group, in this case the groups social organisation and relations with the wider society. If different criteria were used, such as patterns of worship and doctrine, then different typologies would emerge.

Yinger points to one other element in such typologies.(1) In order to distinguish between the different groups in a typology, a quite deliberate emphasis is placed upon the differences between groups with the similarities between them being underplayed to a corresponding extent.

The starting point for the construction of most typologies of religious groups is the distinction described by Ernst Troeltsch between the church and sect.(2) The church, in its attitude to the secular world is typified by compromise.(3) It recognises the wider social and economic system and is integrated with it.(4) This integration brings with it a vested interest in the survival of the existing social system.

Both in peace and in war the church supports the existing powers.(5) This brought the church to be a typically conservative institution, with its greatest appeal for the upper classes in society who likewise had a vested interest in the survival of the existing social order.(6) This led the church to place some considerable emphasis upon social control, to preserve the status quo. In order to exercise this control:

The church must...strive to be coextensive with society, to bring everyone within its 'means of grace'(7)

In theory at least, everyone in society is born into the church, it is not an organisation which one needs to join.(8) With such an emphasis upon the maintenance of the status quo, churches tend to be formal organisations with a hierarchy of paid functionaries and religious specialists.(9) Worship tends to be formal,(10) with emphasis upon right beliefs embodied in a creed.(11)

A good example of this type of institution would be the Church of England.(12) It is very closely integrated with the social order of wider society: the monarch is head of both church and state and a number of bishops are entitled to sit in the House of Lords. It is a

hierarchical organisation with parish priests, canons, bishops and archbishops. The extent to which it is seen as coterminous with the wider society with individuals being born into it may be seen from the disparity between those claiming to belong to the Church of England and those who actually attend its services.

Sects, on the other hand, tend to reject the values of the wider society.(13) Membership of the sect is strictly voluntary with individuals deciding to join, rather than being born into it.(14) Rather than supporting the ruling elite of society the sect is "an expression of the depressed condition of underprivileged groups".(15) Sects are smaller than churches and lack a hierarchy of paid officials.(16) Equally sects are characterised as demanding great commitment and loyalty from their members, both to any leaders that may be present and to the group as a whole.(17) The emphasis in sects is placed not on the adherence to certain creeds, but to displaying the right kinds of behaviour.(18) The sect, as a protest group, challenges the wider society and its religious institutions.(19) This is not a moderate opposition to these

institutions, rather the sects are "sharply in conflict with" the society in which it finds itself. (20) There is also a stress in the cults on asceticism and the perfectability of the individual. (21) The maintenance of social and religious order is less important to the sectarians than the promotion of the religious and moral development of the individual. (22) As they have been described here sects are inherently unstable organisations. In time:

Either the group disintegrates when the members die, or it has been molded into a more formal structure with techniques for admitting new members and serving their common interests. (23)

An example of such a group would be the Jehovah's Witnesses. (24)

As has been outlined above there are fundamental problems with the scheme developed by Troeltsch. Perhaps the greatest of these is that it is a dichotomy, and in any dichotomous typology the full range of religious organisations cannot be given full expression. (25) Even if we accept that the church and the sect as described here are two ends of a continuum, no account has been taken of any intermediate stages along this line. Church and Sect should not be seen as mutually

exclusive categories which together comprise the sum total of man's religious opportunities. More important for our present purpose is the ethnocentricity inherent in Troeltsch's work.(26) Ernst Troeltsch was concerned almost entirely with the study of religious organisations within a Christian context and so it would be questionable to what extent his characterisations could be carried over to an Islamic religious environment.

Yinger has sought to rectify at least the first of these concerns by developing a fuller typology of religious groups based on three criteria.(27) The first factor to be considered is the extent to which a group includes members of the wider society within it. This would range from those religious institutions which seek to include all the members of a given society, to those groups which see themselves as an elect group containing only those especially chosen by God. The second factor used by Yinger concerns the relationship of the group with the wider secular society. This ranges from the total acceptance of the existing social structure and values typical of the church, to the total rejection of the validity of the existing world

order as typified by some isolationist sects. Finally groups may be distinguished on the basis of the extent to which they develop a bureaucratic structure, paid religious specialists and functionaries and a degree of central control over the organisation as a whole.

This threefold consideration allows Yinger to construct a wider range of categories than the two developed by Troeltsch. At one end of his continuum Yinger has what he calls the Universal Institutionalised Church which is characterised by a high degree of inclusiveness whilst at the same time satisfying many of the needs of individuals.(28) While itself accepting society it contains within itself the means of satisfying those who seek to reject the existing social order: a reaction which would usually lead to the formation of a sect.(29) As an example of this type of institution some would point to the Roman Catholic church with the monastic orders being examples of "enclosed sects", that is of sects which have been submerged in the church rather than having broken away from it.(30) The Universal Institutionalised Church is also highly organised with a hierarchy of functionaries and a

degree of bureaucratisation.(31)

Next Yinger discusses the ecclesia, which is more or less equivalent to the Church as described above. It tends to be highly inclusive, not very alienated from the general society, and also tends to be fairly hierarchical and bureaucratic.(32) It sees itself as coterminous with the secular society, but is much less successful than the Universal Institutional Church at incorporating its sectarian movements.(33) It tends to support the existing social order rather than seeking to change it.(34)

Next Yinger turns his attention to the more useful and common of the intermediate categories along the church/sect continuum, the denomination. The denomination is in general though not total agreement with the existing society though not being coterminous with it, often being limited to certain classes, ethnic groups and so on.(35) Denominations tend to be more tolerant of views other than their own than both the church (or ecclesia) and the sect.(36) Membership of a denomination is on a voluntary basis, though generally denominations admit new

members without requiring the applicant to pass any new tests of merit such as may be imposed by the sect.(37) Unlike the ecclesia or church it is most unusual for a denomination to have any actual connection with the state.(38) Some sects will develop into denominations, while others will not. In general:

Those sects will tend to develop into denominations which...emphasised problems of individual anxiety and sin, those that are primarily efforts to reduce burdens of confusion and guilt...sects whose original concern was predominantly with the evils of society will tend to develop into established sects.(39)

Methodism would be a good example of a denomination.(40)

In the last quotation mention was made of the established sect, which lies on the continuum between the denomination and the sect proper as earlier outlined. It is more inclusive and less alienated from society than the sect.(41) Though more structured and organised than the sect, the established sect has not gone so far in this direction than the denomination.(42) Yinger offers the Quakers as an example of a religious group which approximates to the type of the established sect.(43)

The next point on the continuum is occupied by the sect whose characteristics were outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Beyond the sect Yinger places two new points on the scale. The first of these is the cult. Cults are usually small and centred around a specific area or charismatic leader or both.(44) They often lack structure and concern themselves with the search for some kind of mystical experience.(45) The word cult also often carries the connotation of something new,(46) they are:

religious mutants, extreme variations on the dominant themes by means of which men struggle with their problems.(47)

The most extreme point on the scale in this direction, at the opposite pole from the Universal Institutionalised Church is what Yinger describes as the Universal Diffused Church. In this type there is a minimum of religious specialisation and professionalism.(48) Religion does not need to accept or reject the existing social and economic system as it pervades it entirely.(49) No distinction may be made between the religious and secular, sacred and profane. This is the type of religion found in tribal

societies.

Thus Yinger has extended the typology developed by Troeltsch, answering the criticism that religious groups are more diverse than the original church/sect dichotomy would account for. I would contend, however, that the second criticism of Troeltsch's work mentioned above, that of its ethnocentricity, still has not been answered. There would seem to be no categories above which will happily fit the situation of the sufi orders, even if we accept that any fit with the ideal types outlined above will be at best proximate.

A Sufi Order can clearly be neither a Universal Institutionalised Church, a Universal Diffused Church or an Ecclesia, to use Yinger's terms. All of these types are characterised by the great extent to which they include all the members of a given society. Sufi Orders in general, and the Halveti-Jerrahi in particular are membership organisations seeking to accept voluntary members into their number. The Universal Institutionalised Church and the Ecclesia are also typified by high levels of

institutionalisation and bureaucratisation. Though there are in the Halveti-Jerrahi and other Orders a group of Sufis held to be on a different level to the general membership, being closer to the position of the sheikh, it cannot be said that these are religious specialists or part of a hierarchy. Their position is much more that of a group who serve the sheikh and the general membership, doing the cooking and such like. As we have also seen, the Universal Diffused Church exists in a society which recognises no boundaries between the religious and other spheres of life. This is an attractive alternative, as Islam in its classical form, is not a set of religious precepts but a set of rules and practices governing all of human life, whether social, private or economic. However, the Halveti-Jerrahi do speak of the state as something quite separate from the order, as we have seen. This recognition on their part rules out any alignment between the Order and the category of the Universal Diffused Church.

The sect is characterised by a high degree of alienation from the values of the wider society. It is questionable whether that may be said of the Halveti-Jerrahi. True they are

concerned at formalism in religion and the lack of control they feel individuals have over their basic needs and lusts. But this is not complete alienation, the members are active in the world and the Order is by no means able to be interpreted as a "Religion of the Oppressed". The Order is relatively exclusive and has a low level of organisation also typical of sects. There may, therefore, be something in the often repeated equation of the Sufi Orders with the category of Sect: but only if the term Sect can be restricted to its purely sociological meaning and removed from all its existing Christian connotations. This is more especially the case if we ignore the short-lived nature of most sects, in the sociological sense, and speak of an established sect which is more inclusive of society and less alienated from it than the sect proper, and is slightly more organised and institutionalised.

The other major category is that of the denomination. Denominations, as we have seen, are characterised by tolerance of other approaches to religious life. Such tolerance, of other Sufi Orders in particular, is displayed by the

Halveti-Jerrahi who as mentioned above are not greatly alienated from the society in which they live. Where the Halveti-Jerrahi departs most from the denominational pattern is in the level of organisation and specialisation. It lacks the religious specialists, apart from the sheikh, which play a leading role in denominations and the Halveti-Jerrahi is also, though it is less easy to be precise about this, less accommodating to the norms of the wider society than is the denomination as usually defined.

To sum up we would have to say that of the groups we have outlined in this chapter, the Halveti-Jerrahi approximates most closely to the group designated by Yinger as an Established Sect, though as we would expect the fit is far from perfect. I would suggest, however, that the best way to proceed from the point of view of the sociology of religion is to establish a new typology with a completely fresh set of categories. The constant use of terms such as church, ecclesia and denomination cannot but be confusing when looking at religion in a non-Christian environment. Sets of characteristics of religious organisations

designated simply with letters of the alphabet or by some such method with no other connotations would be far preferable. To proceed further along this line, however, would take us far beyond the bounds of the present study.

CHAPTER TEN

AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

In the course of the present work a number of areas where further study would be useful have suggested themselves. Here they will be rehearsed in order to round off the present work by suggesting where we should go from here.

As was pointed out in the introduction, and will now be clear from the body of this work, the main emphasis and focus of the present study was on the order as a religious group. Most space has been given over to the consideration of religious beliefs, rituals and teachings. Yet there is also a social and economic aspect to the order, with members giving assistance to one another in times of need. A complementary study to this one enquiring into how the religious teachings of the order manifest themselves in the daily lives and social relations of the members would be most enlightening.

Mention has been made of the (paucity of) Jerrahi teaching with regard to women. In

the light of this it would be most helpful to have a detailed study of the religious beliefs and practices of the female adherents of the order. The religious segregation of the sexes within Islam generally would suggest that this is a task best undertaken by a female researcher.

Notice was given in the introduction of the existence of a branch of the Jerrahis in the United States. A thorough study of this branch is a most inviting prospect. Only with such a thorough treatment could certain fascinating questions be answered, such as who joins the order - Americans as such or mainly individuals from an Islamic or Middle Eastern background, or a mix between the two. Also of interest would be to see how far teaching, especially on social, political and ethical matters differs in the United States from teaching on similar topics in Turkey.

Finally, but by no means of least significance, a detailed work or Oral History could be undertaken to seek to establish a fuller account of the state and activity of the order since 1925 when the sufi orders were declared to

be illegal. The difficulty of this task should not be under-estimated. I have noted in the course of this study the reluctance of members of the order to speak of the times when the ban on sufi orders was more strictly enforced, or of the technical illegality of the orders today. Much time would thus be needed to complete such a study - if, indeed, it would be possible to complete it at all.

APPENDIX I

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

HC/001 - "Background Information On The Jerrahi Order", 5 pages, no date.

HC/002 - no title, 3 pages, no date.

HC/003 - Letter to me from Tosun Bayrak, 1 page, 16th April, 1984.

HC/004 - Letter to Jerrahis from Tosun Bayrak on death of Muzaffer Ozak, 2 pages, 13th February, 1985.

HC/005 - Letter to me from Tosun Bayrak, 1 page, 8th March, 1985.

HC/006 - "The Life Story Of Hz. Pir Nuraddin Al-Jerrahi (Kudise Serrahul Fattahi) May His Soul Be Sanctified", 6 pages, no date.

HC/007 - no title, 5 pages, no date.

HC/008 - no title, 4 pages, no date.

HC/009 - "On The Occasion Of Mi'raj the 27th Of Rajab, 1405", 8 pages.

HC/010 - no title, 34 pages, no date.

HC/011 - "Ramadan 1402 (June 22-July 21, 1982)", 7 pages.

HC/012 - no title, 4 pages, June 1981.

HC/013 - "The Story Of The Visit Of The Devil, The Accursed", 8 pages, no date.

HC/014 - no title, 3 pages, no date.

HC/015 - no title, 4 pages, no date.

HC/016 - no title, 3 pages, no date.

HC/017 - "Ignorance", 7 pages, 21st January, 1984.

HC/018 - "On Infidelity", 5 pages, no date.

HC/019 - "On Death", 7 pages, 30th October, 1981.

HC/020 - no title, 15 pages, no date.

HC/021 - "Friday, 10th Of The Month Of Muharram, Year 61 H. At Qerbela", 4 pages, 7th November, 1981.

HC/022 - "On The Occasion Of Id Al-Adhna, 1402", 3 pages.

HC/023 - no title, 3 pages, no date.

HC/024 - "Calling Out To Allah", 2 pages, no date.

HC/025 - no title, 5 pages, no date.

HC/026 - no title, 3 pages, 16th December, 1983.

HC/027 - no title, 3 pages, no date.

HC/028 - "On Hajj - I", 5 pages, 3rd March, 1983.

HC/029 - no title, 2 pages, 17th December, 1980.

HC/030 - no title, 2 pages, no date.

HC/031 - no title, 5 pages, no date.

HC/032 - "Tge Ten Duties Of The Salik Are...", 2 pages, no date.

HC/033 - "Adab", 2 pages, no date.

HC/034 - no title, 4 pages, September, 1981.

HC/035 - "Procedure For The Id Prayer", 3 pages, no date.

HC/036 - no title, 4 pages, no date.

HC/037 - no title, 12 pages, no date.

HC/038 - "Advice To Students In Sufism And Novice Dervishes", 14 pages, no date.

HC/039 - no title, 5 pages, no date.

HC/040 - no title, 4 pages, 16th December, 1981.

HC/041 - no title, 2 pages, no date.

HC/042 - "Shukr And Sabr", 3 pages, October 1981.

HC/043 - no title, 6 pages, no date.

HC/044 - no title, 3 pages, 5th July, 1985.

HC/045 - no title, 12 pages, no date.

HC/046 - Letter to me from Nureddin, 2 pages, no date.

HC/047 - no title, 9 pages, no date.

HC/048 - Irsad (English Translation), 4 volumes, no date.

GLOSSARY

ABDAL -- The fifth rank in one of the hierarchies of saints.

ABRAR -- The fourth rank in a hierarchy of saints.

ADAB -- Manners, conduct and behaviour of a sufi.

AKHYAR -- Sixth and lowest rank in a hierarchy of saints.

AWTAD -- A class in one of the hierarchies of saints coming after the kutb and the nukaba.

AYET -- A 'verse', the small units into which the Qur'an is divided.

BARAKA -- Holiness, the spiritual power inherent in holy men.

BHAKTI RELIGION -- In Hinduism, seeking to attain salvation by means of devotion to God.

BISMILLAH -- The words 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate', which begin all but one Surahs of the Qur'an and are recited by Muslims at the beginning of many acts of devotion or daily life.

DHIKR -- Also referred to as Zikir, the 'Remembrance' of God, the most characteristic sufi ritual.

EZAN -- The call to prayer.

FANA -- Passing Away, of the self.

HADITH KUDSI -- A tradition in which God is said to be speaking in the first person, as opposed to normal hadith which are traditions reporting the words and/or deeds of Muhammed.

ISNAD -- The chain of transmitters affixed to a hadith.

ISRAFIL -- The angel who will call forth the dead on the day of resurrection.

KHALWA -- A small room or cubicle used during

spiritual retreats.

KHARIDJITES -- A sect within early Islam which differed from the main on matters of the leadership of the community and the definition of a true believer.

KUTB -- The spiritual pole, supposedly the most spiritual and blessed saint of his age.

MEVLID/MOOLID -- A festival celebrating the anniversary of a religious figure.

MUTAZILITE -- A rationalist school which introduced speculative dogma into Islam.

NAFS -- The Self, a wilful entity against which the sufi must struggle.

NUKABA -- A class in the saintly hierarchy coming just below the kutb.

NUTUK -- A religious discourse.

PIR -- A term of respect for leaders of sufi orders, in Turkey usually restricted to the founding saint of an order or branch order.

SALAT -- Prayer.

SHEIKH -- Widely used title for a leader or other person accorded respect, more particularly the leader of a sufi order.

SHEIKH-UL-ISLAM -- The most senior religious functionary within Islam.

SIRAT -- The narrow bridge over hell which believers must cross on the day of judgement if they wish to enter Paradise.

SOHBET -- A period of conversation with and informal instruction from a sheikh following the formal proceedings at a sufi gathering.

SURAH -- A 'chapter', the large divisions of the Qur'an.

TAFSIR -- The 'science' of the interpretation of the Qur'an.

TARIKAT -- A sufi order or mystical brotherhood.

TEKKE -- A dervish lodge.

TESBIH -- A rosary used by Sufis in their devotions.

VELI -- A saint.

WHITE SHEEP -- A Turcoman tribal group centred in Diyarbakir in the fifteenth century.

ZAKAT -- The giving of alms.

ZAWIYA -- A building used for sufi meetings.

ZIKIR -- Turkish for Dhikr (the 'remembrance' of God, the most characteristic sufi ritual).

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1. See Arberry, A. J., "al-Kalabadhi", in S.E.I. p210.
2. Arberry, A. J., THE DOCTRINE OF THE SUFIS, p5.
3. Ibid., p5.
4. Nicholson, Reynold A., THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, p3, and Stoddart, William, SUFISM, p20.
5. Gibb, H. A. R., ISLAM, p89.
6. Stoddart, SUFISM, p20.
7. Arberry, THE DOCTRINE OF THE SUFIS, p6.
8. Ibid., p6.
9. Ibid., p5.
10. Ibid., p6.
11. Gibb, ISLAM, p89; Nicholson, THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, pp3-4; Guillaume, Alfred, ISLAM, pp143-144; and Stoddart, SUFISM, p20 among others.
12. Gibb, ISLAM, p89.
13. Nicholson, THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, p4.
14. Gibb, ISLAM, p89.
15. On al-Hasan al-Basri see below pp
16. On the Battle of Badr see: Brockelmann, Carl, HISTORY OF THE ISLAMIC PEOPLES, pp23-4; Fisher, Sydney Nettleton, THE MIDDLE EAST, pp35-6; and Watt, W. Montgomery, MUHAMMAD AT MEDINA, pp10-13.
17. Arberry, THE DOCTRINE OF THE SUFIS, p7.

18. See the discussion of the Silsila below, p
19. Nicholson, THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, p4.
20. Ibid., p4.
21. Arberry, THE DOCTRINE OF THE SUFIS, p5.
22. Ibid., p6.
23. quoted in Arberry, THE DOCTRINE OF THE SUFIS, p6.
24. Arberry, THE DOCTRINE OF THE SUFIS, p10.
25. Ibid., pp10-11.
26. Nicholson, THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, p3. For a discussion of the essentially Islamic nature of Sufism, see Elwell-Sutton, "Sufism And Pseudo-Sufism".
27. See below.
28. Osman, K. K., ASPECTS OF SUFISM IN THE SUDAN, pp5-24.
29. Qur'an, 2:109.
30. Qur'an, 50:15.
31. quoted in Osman, ASPECTS OF SUFISM IN THE SUDAN, p16.
32. Anderson, S., "Dervish Orders of Constantinople", p59.
33. See Gellner, E., "A Pendulum Swing Theory of Islam".
34. Ibid., p128-9.
35. Ibid., p130.
36. Ibid., p130.
37. Ibid., p130.
38. Ibid., p131.
39. Turner, Bryan S., WEBER AND ISLAM, p55.

40. Ruthven, Malise, ISLAM IN THE WORLD, p238.
41. Ibid., p236.
42. Ibid., p236.
43. Ibid., p237.
44. Ibid., p237.
45. Gibb, ISLAM, p93.
46. Ruthven, ISLAM IN THE WORLD, p241.
47. Welch, Alford T., "Islam", p153.
48. Ruthven, ISLAM IN THE WORLD, p238.
49. Ibid., pp238-9.
50. Ibid., p238.
51. Ibid., p240.
52. Ibid., p240.
53. Ibid., p238.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1. This version of the name and date of this saint is given in R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER p79. In HC/001, p1, the name is alternatively, and more simply given as Umar Khalwati, with the date of his death being given as 748/1347-8. The version of the name given in B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p276, is Abu Abdullah Siraj al-Din 'Umar b. Ikmal al-Din al-Ahji, or 'Umar al-Khalwati, this representing the Arabic rendering of his name.
2. On the Silsila see J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, "Glossary", p311, and passim.
3. It will be seen that the silsila here fulfils a function similar to the chain of authorities (isnad) attached to a Hadith (tradition concerning the life and words of Muhammed). On the Isnad and Hadith see Th. W. Juynboll, "Hadith", and A. Guillaume, ISLAM, Chapter 5, pp88-110.
4. Taken from R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp78-79.
5. This version is given in M. Z. Pakalın, OSMANLI TARİH DEYİMLERİ VE TERİMLERİ SÖZLÜĞÜ, v1, "Halvetiyye", p715. In his THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p262, Trimingham gives alternative dates for the death of 2) Imam Ali d. 661, 3) Hasan Bin Yesar El Basri d. 728, 4) Habib-i Ajemi d. 737, 5) Kabir Ebu Suleyman Davud bin Nasir'ut Tai d. 781, 6) Mahfuz Ma'ruf Miyyul Kerhi d. 815, 7) Hasan Seriy'us Sakati d. 867.
6. On "Pir" see M. Z. Pakalın, OSMANLI TARİH DEYİMLERİ VE TERİMLERİ, SÖZLÜĞÜ, v2, "Pir", pp776-7, and "Pir" in O.

7. Pakalın, op. cit., p776. N.B.-Pakalın's reference to old Persian as İhtiyar Farsça, is idiosyncratic as İhtiyar certainly means old but is normally restricted in its application to living creatures.
8. On "Sheikh" see A. Cour, "Sheikh", p519, and O. Hangerlioğlu, "Şeyh" in his İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p582.
9. A. Cour, "Sheikh", p519.
10. On this term see B. Cara de Vaux, "Wali", and O. Hangerlioğlu, "Veli" in his İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, pp702-703.
11. B. Cara de Vaux, "Wali", p629, On the notion of the saint generally and specifically in the Christian tradition see S. Wilson, "Introduction" in SAINTS AND THEIR CULTS, pp1-53. A brief view of the saint in Islam can be found in G. Swan, "Saintship In Islam".
12. S. Wilson, "Introduction", p4.
13. Ibid., p9.
14. On the following see B. Cara de Vaux, "Wali".
15. M. d'Ohsen, TABLEAU GENERAL DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN, v1, pp306ff, summarised in B. Cara de Vaux "Wali", p629.
16. For a concise statement of this theory see A. J. Arberry, SUFISM, p101, of which the following is a summary.
17. On the following see B. Cara de Vaux, "Wali".
18. R. A. Nicholson, THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, p123.
19. On the advent of canonization see S. Wilson, "Introduction", p6.

20. M. T. Titus, "Mysticism And Saint Worship In India", pp129-141.
21. HC/001, p1.
22. See Cl. Huart, "Ali B. Abi. Talib", pp30-32 and L. Veccia Valgieri, "Ali B. Abi Talib", pp381-386.
23. On Khadidja see F. Buhl "Khadidja", pp231-232.
24. On Abu Bakr, the first Caliph, see F. Buhl, "Abu Bakr", pp8-9.
25. On Abu Talib see F. Buhl, "Abu Talib", p12.
26. On Fatima see H. Lammens, "Fatima" pp101-102.
27. On Hasan see H. Lammens, "al-Hasan B. Ali", p135, and on Huseyn see H. Lammens, "al-Husain B. Ali", p142.
28. L. Veccia Valgieri, "Ali B. Abi Talib", p382.
29. On Umar see G. Levi della Vida, "Umar B. al-Khattab", pp600-601.
30. On Uthman see G. Levi della Vida, "Uthman B. Affan", pp615-617.
31. On the Kharidjites see G. Levi della Vida, "Kharidjites", pp246-249, and W. M. Watt, ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY, pp10-19.
32. These remarks quoted in Cl. Huart, "Ali B. Abi Talib".
33. Ibid., p31.
34. HC/021, p1.
35. Cl. Huart, "Ali B. Abi Talib", p30.
36. HC/013, p3.
37. HC/009, p4.
38. HC/019, p5.

39. HC/011, p2.
40. For more on fasting see below, chapter six.
41. HC/048-Irṣad, v1, p406.
42. HC/039, p3.
43. HC/018, p5.
44. B. A. Farrell, "Ego", p194.
45. On him see Anonymous, "al-Hasan al-Basri", p136, H. Ritter, "Hasan al-Basri", pp247-248, and A. J. Arberry, MUSLIM SAINTS AND MYSTICS, pp19-25.
46. On the Mutazilites see H. S. Nyberg, "al-Mutazila", pp241-247 and W. M. Watt, ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY, pp58-70.
47. H. Ritter, "Hasan al-Basri", p248.
48. A. J. Arberry, MUSLIM SAINTS AND MYSTICS, pp20-22.
49. HC/048-Irṣad, v1, pp258-259.
50. On family relations among the Jerrahis see chapter seven.
51. HC/048-Irṣad, v1, p259.
52. On Junayd see A. J. Arberry, "al-Djunayd" p93, and his MUSLIM SAINTS AND MYSTICS, pp199-213, and A. H. Abdel-Kader, THE LIFE, PERSONALITY AND WRITINGS OF AL-JUNAYD.
53. A. J. Arberry, MUSLIM SAINTS AND MYSTICS, p200.
54. Ibid., p202.
55. Ibid., p201.
56. On the appearance of Muhammed to believers in dreams see I. Goldziher, "The Appearance Of The Prophet In Dreams", pp503-506.

57. HC/034, p3.
58. A. J. Arberry MUSLIM SAINTS AND MYSTICS, p211.
59. HC/033, p2.
60. B. Cara de Vaux, "Wali", p629.
61. Ibid., p630.
62. On Suhruwardi see S. H. Nasr, "The Persian Works Of Shaykh al-Din Suhrawardi", pp3-8, and his THREE MUSLIM SAGES, pp52-82. See also the "Introduction" by O. Spies and S. K. Khatak in Suhrawardi, THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM, pp1-12. For a study of Suhrawardi's philosophy see K. Tehrani, MYSTICAL SYMBOLISM IN FOUR TREATISES OF SUHRAWARDI.
63. Spies and Khatak in Suhruwardi, THREE TREATISES ON MYSTICISM, p1.
64. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
65. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p74.
66. HC/001, p1.
67. On this practice see H. Landolt, "Khalwa", pp900-901.
68. On Umar Khalwati see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p276.
69. Ibid., pp276-277, and F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
70. HC/001, p1.
71. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p74.
72. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp276-277, and F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.

73. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp276.
74. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p74.
75. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p276.
76. Ibid., p276, and J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p99.
77. On this see F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", pp992-993.
78. Ibid., p992.
79. For these developments see F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", pp991, B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp290-297, J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p76, and A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, pp206-207.
80. On the Shamsiyya see R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp122-127, S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp252-253, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p187 and O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p567.
81. On the Sivasıyya see R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp162-163, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p188 and O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p544.
82. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
83. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p290.
84. Ibid., pp290-291.
85. On the Demirdashiyya see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp291-294, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p67, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ,

p193, J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p76, and E. Bannerth, "La Khalwatiyya En Egypte Quelques Aspects De La Vie D'Une Confrerie", pp3-7.

86. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p292.
87. Ibid., p292.
88. E. W. Lane, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MODERN EGYPTIANS, p251.
89. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p292.
90. Ibid., p292.
91. Ibid., p293.
92. Ibid., pp295-7, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p191, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp93-97, S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp241-243 and O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p117.
93. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, 76.
94. Ibid., p76.
95. For what follows see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p296ff.
96. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, 76.
97. Ibid., p76.
98. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p297.
99. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, 76.
100. S. Anderson, "Dervish Orders Of Constantinople", p53.
101. For the following see B. G. Martin "A Short

History Of The Khalwati Order Of
Dervishes", p296-297.

102. Ibid., p297.
103. Ibid., p297.
104. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Şeza'iyya see O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p531, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp145-146, and E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p131.
105. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Haletiyya see E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p188, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp145-146, and O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p130.
106. HC/001, p1.
107. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp278-279.
108. Ibid., p279.
109. see F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
110. see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p280. HC/001, p1, gives the date as d. Mecca, 899/1493-1494.
111. On him see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp280-281.
112. Ibid., p281.
113. HC/001, p1, and F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Jamaliyya see R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp98-101, S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp244-245, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp184-185, and O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p52.
114. For what follows see B. G. Martin, "A Short

History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp281-282.

115. Ibid., p281. For more on magic squares see R. B. Serjeant, "Islam", passim.
116. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p281.
117. Ibid., p282.
118. Ibid., p282.
119. In Turkish this is the Koca Mustafa Paşa and a description of the mosque can be found in H. Sumner-Boyd and J. Freely, STROLLING THROUGH ISTANBUL, pp367-369.
120. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p282.
121. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p992.
122. Ibid., p992. See also E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p190, and A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p208.
123. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p992. See also A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p208, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p130, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp190-191, and O. Hancıerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p34.
124. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p992.
125. Ibid., p991, and B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p282.
126. On the Şünbūliyya see O. Hancıerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p559, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp177-182, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp102-109, and S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp245-246.
127. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The

- Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p282.
128. Ibid., p282, and F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
 129. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
 130. On these events see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp282-283.
 131. Ibid., p283.
 132. Ibid., p283.
 133. Ibid., pp284-285.
 134. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
 135. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p285.
 136. Ibid., p285.
 137. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p75.
 138. On this see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp295-296.
 139. Ibid., p296.
 140. Ibid., p296.
 141. HC/001, p2. On this order see J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p76, A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p208, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp117-121, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p567, S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p246, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp182-183, and F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991.
 142. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. See also HC/001, p2.
 143. On the Karabashiyya see A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR,

- p208, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp188-189, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, pp229-230, and R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp147-149.
144. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Nasuhiyya see R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp154-156, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p419, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p189 and A. Gölpinarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p209.
 145. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Çerkeshiyya see A. Gölpinarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p209, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p189, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p61 and R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p143.
 146. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Khaliliyya see A. Gölpinarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p209, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, pp130-131 and E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p189.
 147. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the İbrahimiyya see A. Gölpinarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, pp209-210, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p192, O. Hangerlioğlu, "Kuşadaviyye", p278, and Y. Öztürk, KUŞADALI İBRAHİM HALVETİ, passim.
 148. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp304-305.
 149. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77.
 150. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Bekriyya see A. Gölpinarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, pp208-209, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p140, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM

İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p40, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp192-193 and E. Bannerth, "La Khalwatiyya En Egypte Quelques Aspects De La Vie D'Une Confrerie", pp8-12.

151. HC/001, p2.
152. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp297-297.
153. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991 and HC/001, p2. On the Kemaliyya see A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p208, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p192, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p241 and R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p150.
154. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77.
155. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p991. On the Samaniyya see J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77, A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p208, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p161, E. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p193 and O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p527.
156. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p302.
157. J. M. Abun-Nasr, THE TIJANIYYA A SUFI ORDER IN THE MODERN WORLD, p18.
158. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p302 and J. S. Trimingham, ISLAM IN ETHIOPIA, p247.
159. J. S. Trimingham, ISLAM IN ETHIOPIA, p247, B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p302.
160. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p78.
161. Ibid., p78, and B. G. Martin, "A Short

History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p302.

162. F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p992.
163. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p298.
164. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77 and F. De Jong, "Khalwatiyya", p992. On this order see also A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p208, E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, "Hafiye" p192, and E. Bannerth, "La Khalwatiyya En Egypte quelques Aspects De La Vie D'Une Confrerie", pp12-14.
165. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p301.
166. Ibid., p301.
167. Ibid., p302.
168. Ibid., p303 and J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77. On the Rahmaniyya see O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p471.
169. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p303.
170. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77.
171. Ibid., p77.
172. Ibid., p77 and B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p303. On the Dardiriyya see E. Bannerth, "La Khalwatiyya En Egyptes Quelques Aspects De La Vie D'Une Confrerie", pp14-20, R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p144, O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, "Dardiriyye" p68, and E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p190.
173. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp303-304.

174. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77.
175. B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p304.
176. Ibid., p304.
177. P. B. Clarke, WEST AFRICA AND ISLAM, pp113-123.
178. B. G. Martin, MUSLIM BROTHERHOODS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRICA, p24.
179. HC/001, p2, J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77, and B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", p301.
180. J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p77.
181. It is so regarded by the Jerrahis, HC/001, p2, and by B. G. Martin, MUSLIM BROTHERHOODS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRICA, p9.
182. B. G. Martin, MUSLIM BROTHERHOODS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFRICA, p1.
183. J. M. Abun-Nasr, THE TIJANIYYA A SUFI ORDER IN THE MODERN WORLD, p16. This is a standard work on the Tijanis, but see also O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, "Ticanilik" p657 and E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp185-186.
184. For what follows see J. M. Abun-Nasr, THE TIJANIYYA A SUFI ORDER IN THE MODERN WORLD, pp18-28.
185. HC/001, p2 and J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p75.
186. E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p184 and R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p128.
187. On this branch see R. Serin, İSLAM

TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp128-129, E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p184, S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp246-247, A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p210, and O. Hançerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, "Ahmediye" p15.

188. HC/001, pp2-3.
189. HC/001, p3, and J. S. Trimingham, THE SUFI ORDERS IN ISLAM, p75. On the Sinaniyya see R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp164-166, S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp249-250, O. Hançerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p544 and E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p131.
190. S. Anderson, "Dervish Orders Of Constantinople, p53.
191. HC/001, p3. On this branch see E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p187, O. Hançerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p338, S. Eraydin, TASAVVUF VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, pp250-251 and R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, pp151-152.
192. For the following see B. G. Martin, "A Short History Of The Khalwati Order Of Dervishes", pp289-290.
193. Ibid., p289.
194. HC/001, p3. For the Ushshakiyya see E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, 186 and O. Hançerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p676.
195. HC/001, p3. For this order see R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p157, O. Hançerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p472 and E. B. Şapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p183.
196. R. Serin, İSLAM TASAVVUFUNDA HALVETİLİK VE HALVETİLER, p157.

197. HC/001, p3 and E. B. Sapolyo, MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR TARİHİ, p191. For this order see also A. Gölpınarlı, TÜRKİYE'DE MEZHEPLER VE TARİKATLAR, p211 and O. Hangerlioğlu, İSLAM İNANÇLARI SÖZLÜĞÜ, p148.
198. HC/001, p3.
199. Ibid., p3.
200. As mentioned in the introduction this is an anglicised version of the name, the Turkish being spelt Cerrahi.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

1. The published account can be found in M. Ozak, ZIYNET-UL-KULUB, pp315-316. The other source is HC/006. Contemporary manuscript evidence is reviewed by S. Yola, SCHEJCH NUREDDIN MEHMED CERAHI UND SEIN ORDEN (1721-1925), pp25-71.
2. HC006, p1 and M. Ozak, ZIYNET-UL-KULUB, p315.
3. S. Yola, SCHEJCH NUREDDIN MEHMED CERAHI UND SEIN ORDEN (1721-1925), p25.
4. The date given to me by the present head of the order was during an unprompted recounting of the life of the founder and not in response to an enquiry concerning the correctness of the various dates.
5. HC/006, p1. Istanbul will be known by this name throughout this study for the sake of consistency, regardless of what the city was most correctly called at any given time.
6. M. Ozak, ZIYNET-UL-KULUB, p315.
7. HC/006, p1.
8. For his education see HC/006, p1.
9. On what follows see HC/006, p2.
10. Ibid., p2.
11. Ibid., p2.
12. On dreams and visions of the Prophet see I. Goldziher, "The Appearance Of The Prophet In Dreams".
13. It is not made clear whether this is Monday evening according to the European method of reckoning time or according to the Islamic method. According to Islamic

custom days begin at sunset - meaning that Monday evening would be what Europeans would regard as Sunday evening.

14. HC/006, p4.
15. Ibid., p4.
16. Ibid., p4.
17. HC/006, pp4-5.
18. HC/006, p5.
19. Ibid., p5.
20. Ibid., p5.
21. For a discussion of the weekly meeting see below, chapters 5 and 6.
22. HC/006, p5.
23. HC/006, p6.
24. M. Ozak, ZIYNET-UL-KULUB, p316.
25. HC/006, p6 and M. Ozak, ZIYNET-UL-KULUB, p316. A full translation of this hadith is given in M. M. Ali, A MANUAL OF HADITH, p374, where the reference is given to Nasa'i, book 25, chapter 6.
26. A. Droogers, "Symbols Of Marginality In The Biographies Of Religious And Secular Innovators", pp105-121 with his findings summarised in tabular form on p120.
27. Ibid., p105.
28. Relevant notices being limited, so far as I have been able to establish, to one page, p318, in M. Ozak, ZIYNET-UL-KULUB. In addition the autobiographical sketch in M. Ozak, THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, pp1-12, must also be regarded as an historical source, especially following Ozak's death in 1985. Much of what follows is taken from S. Yola who has studied historical manuscripts

relating to the order down to 1925.

29. HC/006, p3. On him see S.Yola, SCHEJCH NUREDDIN MEHMED CERRAHI UND SEIN ORDEN (1721-1925), pp95-96.
30. HC/006, p3. On him see S. Yola, SCHEJCH NUREDDIN MEHMED CERRAHI UND SEIN ORDEN (1721-1925), pp98-99.
31. On this mosque see H. Sumner-Boyd and J. Freely, STROLLING THROUGH ISTANBUL, pp245-247.
32. On him see S. Yola, SCHEJCH NUREDDIN MEHMED CERRAHI UND SEIN ORDEN (1721-1925), pp102-104.
33. On him see Ibid., p105.
34. On him see Ibid., pp108-110.
35. On him see Ibid., p110.
36. On him see Ibid., p112, for the Tamisvar Tekke see Ibid., p93.
37. On him see Ibid., pp116-118.
38. On him see Ibid., pp118-119. The remarkable longevity attributed to this leader may be due simply to an unintentional error in the source or, as is sometimes the case in such material, an attempt to enhance the reputation of the person concerned.
39. On him see Ibid., pp119-120.
40. On Seyyid Mehmed Sadeddin see Ibid., pp105-106. On Sertarikzade Mehmed Emin see above.
41. On him see Ibid., p122.
42. On him see Ibid., pp111-112.
43. On him see Ibid., pp122-123.
44. On him see Ibid., pp129-130.
45. On him see Ibid., pp142-144.

46. On him see Ibid., p150.
47. On him see Ibid., pp150-151.
48. On him see Ibid., pp151-152.
49. For a summary of these measures and the reasons underlying them see my SECULARISM IN MODERN TURKEY, pp105-107.
50. see M. Ozak, THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, pp1-12.
51. Ibid., p2.
52. Ibid., p9.
53. Ibid., p10.
54. Ibid., p10.

NOTES

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Personal communication from an informant, also stated in Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, p133.
2. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, p133.
3. What follows is based on an informant's explanation.
4. HC/022, p1.
5. HC/011, p6.
6. On this see I. Goldziher, "Ahl al-Kitab", in SEI, pp16-17.
7. Ibid., p16
8. Rahman, F.; "Islam's attitude towards Judaism", p1.
9. Ibid., p5.
10. Quoted in Goldziher, I.; "Ahl al-Kitab", p17
11. On relations between Muhammed and the Jewish community in Medina see Watt, W. Montgomery; MUHAMMED AT MEDINA, ch. 6, pp192-220. The Prophet's relations with Christians is discussed in Bell, R.; THE ORIGIN OF ISLAM IN ITS CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT, ch. 5, pp134-161.
12. Goldziher, I.; "Ahl al-Kitab", p16.
13. Rahman, F.; "Islam's attitude towards Judaism", p6. See also Bell, R.; THE ORIGINS OF ISLAM IN ITS CHRISTIAN ENVIRONMENT, ch. 6, pp162-189.
14. For a brief description of this see my SECULARISM IN MODERN TURKEY, pp53-5.
15. The following is based on conversations

with an informant. See also Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, p133.

16. Compare this with the Pericope in the New Testament, "No one comes to the Father but by me".
17. HC/001, p5.
18. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, pp117-118.
19. Ibid., p117.
20. Ibid., p118.
21. HC/034, p1.
22. Ibid., p1.
23. For this see HC/039, p2.
24. Ibid., p2.
25. Ibid., p2.
26. Ibid., p1. On this see also HC/047, p3; HC/036, p3 and Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, pp133-134.
27. HC/047, p3.
28. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, p134.
29. HC/025, p2.
30. HC/047, p5.
31. Ibid., p6.
32. Ibid., p6.
33. Jami, LAWA'IH, p16.
34. "Ghazali On The Unity And Attributes Of God", (tr. by Ockley in LAWA'IH, pp47-51), p49.
35. Jami; LAWA'IH, p34.
36. Ibid., p20.

37. Nicholson, R. A.; "Sufis", p15.
38. Nasr, Seyyid Hossein; INTRODUCTION TO ISLAMIC COSMOLOGICAL DOCTRINES, p202.
39. Ruthven, Malise; ISLAM IN THE WORLD, p116.
40. Ibid., p125.
41. Ibid., p208.
42. For what follows see the excellent summary in Jami; LAWA'IH, Apendix II, especially pp54-56.
43. Ibid., p54.
44. Ibid., p55.
45. Ibid., p55.
46. Ibid., p56.
47. HC/039, pp3-4.
48. Ibid., p4.
49. HC/038, p9.
50. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, p139.
51. Ibid., pp139-140.
52. Ibid., p140.
53. HC/017, p4.
54. HC/025, p2.
55. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, p156.
56. HC/017, p4.
57. Quoted in Nicholson, R. A.; THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, p115.
58. Nicholson, R. A.; THE MYSTICS OF ISLAM, p115.

59. This is based on a conversation with Sheikh Sefer Baba in 1985.
60. HC/016, p22.
61. HC/020, p51. The following chain of authorities is attached to this saying:
"I heard Muhammed ibn al-Husayn say: I heard Abdullah ibn Muhammed al-Dari say: Ishaq ibn Ibrahim Abu Hissan told us: I heard Ahmad ibn Abul-Hanari say: I heard Abu Sulayman [Abdul-Rahman Akiyya al-Durani] say:"
62. HC/019, p1.
63. Ibid., p1.
64. HC/032, p2.
65. HC/031, p4.
66. HC/019, p7.
67. HC/008, p5.
68. For a discussion of the use of the mirror metaphor in Sufism, with special reference to Ibn al-Arabi, see Austin, R. W. J.;
69. HC/020, p51. This is a quotation credited to Abu Sulayman Abdul-Rahman Akiyya al-Darani.
70. HC/031, p5.
71. HC/020, p55. This is a quotation credited to Abu Zakariya Yahya ibn Mu'adh al-Razi al-Waiz.
72. HC/042, p3.
73. HC/032, p2.
74. HC/034, p2.
75. HC/047, pp7-8.
76. Ibid., p8.
77. HC/018, p4.

78. Ibid., p5.
79. HC/008, pp3-4.
80. HC/036, p2.
81. HC/019, p5.
82. HC/038, p4.
83. Ibid., p4.
84. For the following see HC/030, pp1-2.
85. On repentance see also HC/040, p1.
86. HC/040, p1.
87. HC/030, p1.
88. Ibid., p2.
89. On which see Arberry, A. J.; SUFISM, pp75-79, from where the following list has been extracted.
90. HC/044, p1.
91. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE, p158.
92. HC/039, p3.
93. This point was made by one of my informants who suggested that this had happened to the Shi'ites, that there was nothing wrong with having a love for the family of Muhammed, but that the Shi'a had mistaken the resting place for the final goal.
94. HC/047, p8.
95. HC/034, p3.
96. On Moksa see Rhys-Davids, C. A. F.; "Moksa".
97. see Poussin, L. De La Vallee; "Nirvana".
98. Ibid., p376.

99. Ibid., p378.
100. HC/045, especially pp2-11. What follows
is an abridged paraphrase.
101. Ibid., p2.
102. Ibid., p4.
103. Ibid., p5.
104. Ibid., p6.
105. Ibid., p8.
106. Ibid., p8.
107. Ibid., p9.
108. Ibid., p9.
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109. Ibid., p10.
110. Ibid., p11.
111. Ibid., p11.
112. For a fuller discussion of this point see
Bouyer, Louis; "Mysticism An Essay On
The History Of The Word",
113. Ibid., p42.
114. Underhill, Evelyn; "The Essentials Of
Mysticism", p27.
115. Ibid., p27.
116. Ibid., p28.
117. Smith, Margaret; "The Nature And Meaning
Of Mysticism".
118. Ibid., p19.
119. Ibid., p20.
120. Ibid., pp21-22.
121. Smart, Ninian; "Interpretation And
Mystical Experience", p79.

122. Ibid., p78.
123. Smith, Margaret; "The Nature And Meaning Of Mysticism", p20.
124. Bambrough, Renford; "Intuition And The Inexpressible", p203 and Smith, Margaret; "The Nature And Meaning Of Mysticism", p21.
125. This could be a further method of distinguishing between mysticism and pantheism as in the latter any knowledge gained is mediated to the individual through some sensory contact with the external world.
126. Hick, John; "Mystical Experience As Cognition", p436.
127. Smart, Ninian; "Understanding Religious Experience", p17.
128. Bambrough, Renford; "Intuition And The Inexpressible", p206.
129. Smart, Ninian; "Understanding Religious Experience", p20.
130. On this see Hick, John; "Mystical Experience As Cognition", p427.

NOTES.

CHAPTER SIX

1. HC/032, p1.
2. Ibid., p1.
3. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p170.
4. HC/038, p2.
5. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
pp169-170.
6. Ibid., p170.
7. Ibid., p170.
8. HC/031, p5.
9. Ibid., p5.
10. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p155.
11. Ibid., p164.
12. Ibid., p158.
13. HC/038, pp4-5.
14. Ibid., p5.
15. HC/031, p2.
16. Ozak. Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p155.
17. HC/038, p4.
18. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p167.
19. HC/048-Irsad, v3, p70.
20. HC/016, p3.
21. HC/038, p9 and HC/031, p2.

22. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p166.
23. HC/038, p8.
24. HC/031, p2.
25. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p164.
26. HC/031, p5.
27. Ibid., p2.
28. Ibid., p2.
29. Ibid., p2.
30. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p164.
31. Ibid., p164.
32. Ibid., p155.
33. Ibid., p158.
34. HC/031, p5.
35. Ibid., p5.
36. HC/038, p7.
37. Ibid., p7.
38. HC/004, pp1-2.
39. Ibid., p2.
40. Turner, Bryan S.; WEBER AND ISLAM, p23.
41. Ibid., p23.
42. Ibid., p24.
43. Ibid., p23.

NOTES.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p428.
2. HC/031, p1.
3. HC/017, p1.
4. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p408.
5. HC/012, p2.
6. HC/037, p1.
7. Ibid., p1.
8. Ibid., p1.
9. Ibid., p2.
10. Ibid., p2.
11. For the following account see HC/037,
pp3-10.
12. HC/037, p7.
13. Ibid., p8.
14. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p388.
15. HC/043, p3.
16. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p408.
17. Ibid., v3, p60.
18. HC/013, p4.
19. HC/031, p3.
20. HC/013, p6.
21. HC/009, p6.
22. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p411.

23. Ibid., v1, p433.
24. Ibid., v2, p272.
25. Ibid., v2, p246.
26. HC/013, p6.
27. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p424.
28. HC/013, p6.
29. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p413.
30. HC/009, p5.
31. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p180.
32. HC/031, p1.
33. HC/013, p6.
34. HC/011, p3.
35. HC/012, p4.
36. On this see HC/037, p11.
37. see HC/022, p2.
38. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p433.
39. HC/035, p1.
40. i.e., Allahu Akbar, Allahu Akbar, la ilaha
ila 'llah, Allahu Akbar wa lillah
il-hamd.
41. see HCO09, p6.
42. Ibid., p6.
43. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p408.
44. Ibid., v1, p410.
45. Ibid., v1, p408.
46. Ibid., v1, p408.
47. Ibid., v1, p410.

48. Ibid., v1, p408.
49. Ibid., v1, p410.
50. Ibid., v1, p409.
51. Ibid., v1, p409.
52. Ibid., v1, p410.
53. Ibid., v1, p409.
54. see HC/007, pp1-4.
55. Ibid., p3.
56. HC/009, p4.
57. HC/002, p2.
58. HC/048-Irsad, v2, p631.
59. HC/007, p1.
60. Ibid., p1.
61. HC/048-Irsad, v2, p312.
62. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p176.
63. HC/048-Irsad, v3, p284.
64. HC/038, p5.
65. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p176.
66. HC/048-Irsad, v3, p283.
67. Ibid., v3, p285.
68. Ozak, Muzaffer; THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p177.
69. Ibid., p177.
70. HC/038, p11.
71. HC/024, p1.

72. Ibid., p1.
73. Ibid., p1.
74. HC/011, pp1-2.
75. HC/048-Irsad, v2, p91.
76. HC/011, p7.
77. HC/012, p3.
78. HC/011, p3.
79. HC/048-Irsad. v2, p360.
80. HC/011, p3.
81. HC/012, p2.
82. HC/011, p3.
83. HC/013, p3.
84. HC/011, p3.
85. HC/048-Irsad, v2, p119.
86. HC/012, p2.
87. HC/048-Irsad, v2, p92.
88. HC/012, p3.
89. see HC/048-Irsad, v2, p94.
90. HC/020, p13.
91. HC/022, p2.
92. HC/011, p2.
93. Ibid., p2.
94. Ibid., p2.
95. see HC/031, p1.
96. HC/048-Irsad, v2, p325.
97. Ibid., v2, p325.

98. HC/012, p3.
99. see HC/031, p1.
100. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p398.
101. HC/013, p3.
102. Ibid., p6.
103. see HC/012, p4.
104. Ibid., p4.
105. HC/048-Irsad, v2, p315.
106. HC/027, p1.
107. Conversation with Sheikh Sefer Baba.
108. HC/027, p1.

109. HC/013, p13.
110. HC/015, p4.
111. HC/038, p9.
112. see HC/027, pp1-2.
113. Ibid., p2.
114. Ibid., p3.
115. Ibid., pp2-3.
116. HC/028, pp1-2.
117. Ibid., p2.
118. Ibid., p4.
119. HC/013, p6.
120. HC/033, p1.
121. HC/010, p14.
122. HC/044, p1.
123. HC/010, p14.

124. HC/031, p2.
125. HC/013, p6.
126. HC/025, p4.
127. HC/017, p2.
128. HC/013, p3.
129. HC/014, p3.
130. HC/010, p12.
131. HC/008, p1.
132. Ibid., p1.
133. Ibid., p1.
134. HC/017, p1.
135. HC/008, p2.
136. HC/048-Irsad, v1, p424.
137. HC/017, p3.
138. HC/018, p2.
139. HC/017, p3.
140. HC/031, p5.
141. HC/025, pp3-4.
142. HC/018, p2.
143. HC/017, p3.
144. Ibid., p2.
145. HC/014, p1.
146. Ibid., p3.
147. HC/017, p2.
148. Ibid., p2.
149. HC/031, p5.

150. HC/033, p1.

151. HC/012, p2.

152. HC/031, p2.

NOTES

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. HC/001, p5.
2. HC/048-IRSAD, v2, p356.
3. HC/013, p4.
4. HC/011, p6.
5. HC/048-IRSAD, v1, p240.
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7. Ibid., v1, p264.
8. Ibid., v1, p263.
9. Ibid., v1, p269.
10. Ibid., v1, p237.
11. Ibid., v1, p263.
12. Ibid., v1, p237.
13. HC/031, p3.
14. HC/048-IRSAD, v1, p237.
15. Ibid., v1, p264.
16. HC/033, p2.
17. see HC/048-IRSAD, v1, p209.
18. HC/010, p3.
19. HC/013, p5.
20. Ibid., p4.
21. Ibid., pp5-6.
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24. Ibid., v1, p454.
25. HC/043, p5.
26. HC/048-IRSAD, v1, p464.
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29. Ibid., v1, p249.
30. Ibid., v1, pp442-4.
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32. On this see Atacan, Fulya; SOSYAL DEGISME
VE TARIKAT CERRAHILER, pp105-107.
33. HC/031, p1.
34. Ibid., p4.
35. HC/032, p1.
36. Ozak, Muzaffer, THE UNVEILING OF LOVE,
p180.
37. HC/031, p5.
38. HC/032, p2.
39. HC/015, p4.
40. Ibid., p2.
41. HC/031, p3.
42. Ibid., p5.
43. HC/025, p4.
44. HC/015, p2.
45. HC/048-IRSAD, v1, p253.
46. HC/031, p1.
47. Ibid., p3.
48. Ibid., p4.

49. HC/043, p4.
50. HC/031, p4.
51. Ibid., p2.
52. HC/048-IRSAD, v2, p409.
53. HC/031, pp2-3.
54. HC/021, p4.
55. HC/032, p1.
56. HC/048-IRSAD, v3, p26.
57. HC/031, p3.
58. HC/041, p1. These items are numbers 25 and 13 on the list respectively.
59. HC/018, p3. This based on the Qur'an;
60. HC/013, p6, quoting Anas ibn Malik.
61. HC/048-IRSAD, v3, p8.
62. Ibid.,
63. HC/010, p14.
64. HC/048-IRSAD, v2, p409.
65. Ibid., v3, p25.
66. Ibid., v3, p11.
67. Ibid., v3, p20.
68. Ibid., v3, p22.
69. HC/034, p3.
70. HC/032, p2.
71. Ibid.,
72. HC/013, p13.
73. HC/015, p1.

NOTES

CHAPTER NINE

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4. Thompson, Ian, RELIGION, p18.
5. Yinger, THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION, p253.
6. Wilson, Bryan, RELIGIOUS SECTS, p22.
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pp242-5.
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p252.
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32. Ibid., p260.
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34. Ibid., p262.
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p267.
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pp266-7.
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